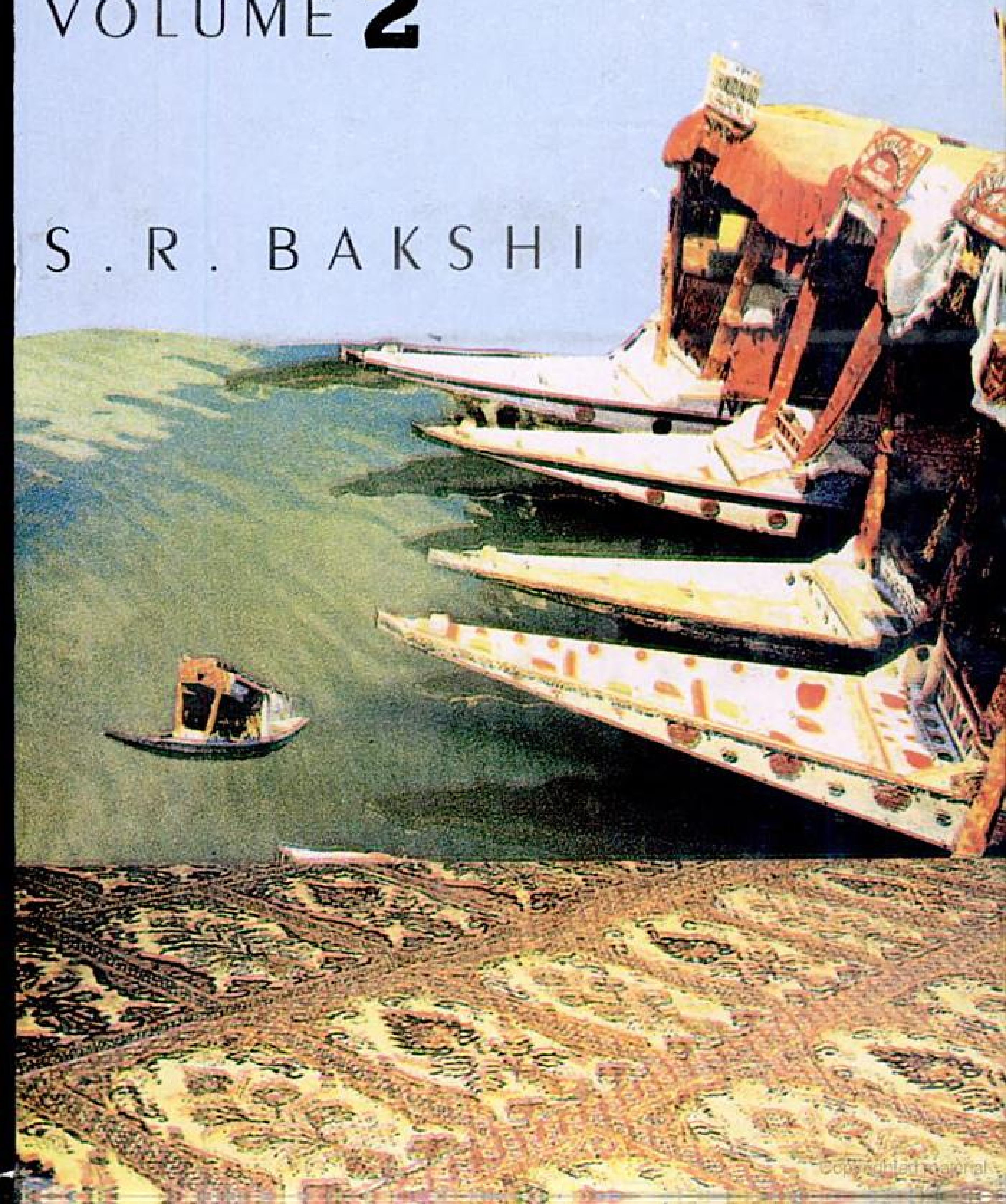
KASHMIR THROUGH AGES

VOLUME 2

S.R. BAKSHI



The volumes in this set deal with the history, society and culture of Kashmir Valley in ancient, medievel and modern periods. They depict its developments under several rulers, Hindus, Muslims, Afghans, Sikhs and Dogras. The Valley indeed is very attractive in many ways and tourists from Asian and European countries show deep interest in its romantic setting. Several Himalayan ranges, lakes, rivers, springs, temples, mosques, churches, snowy peaks, fruits and simple life of the people in the rural areas speak of its richness in beauty.

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Kashmir Through Ages



Kashmir Through Ages

Volume-2

Valley and Its Culture

S. R. Bakshi

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Preface

The valley of Kashmir, Ladakh and Jammu ruled by Hindu, Muslim, and Dogra rulers pose a serious problem on account of their geographical situatioin. Its beautiful and scenic beauty of mountains, rivers, lakes, several kinds of fruit, flora and fauna and healthy climate, attract the attention of millions of tourists from all over the world. Rightly compared with Switzerland in many ways, people throng here to enjoy their time at several places which indeed have historical and religious importance. You may find here old mouments, temples and mosques built here long time back. The carpets, shawls handicrafts, apples and other fruits catch the attention of exporters all over the world. Millions of rupees are collected from these exports.

I have dealt with numerous themes having bearing on the Kashmir valley. These are geography, people, cradle of several races, Ladakh—its people and culture, Muslim, Aghan, Sikh and Dogra rulers, Gilgit, Buddhist monuments, Srinagar—the valley, food-habits of people, rivers and towns, the Kashmiri Pandits, social life, society and religion, lakes-Dal Lake and Wular Lake, temples, folklore and folk-songs, Sheikh Abdullah as leader, internal problems, political correspondence, speeches of Sheikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, problem of accession, role of the Security Council, role of Frank Graham and Gunnar Jarring, speeches of Menon Chagla and statement by Mridula Sarabhai.

I have collected the material from several institutions, viz.

the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi University Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Sapru Huse Library, Parliament House Library and last but not the least, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, New Delhi. I feel much beholden to the authorities of these institutions for their academic support to me during my researches.

—S. R. Bakshi

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Srinagar : The Romantic Valley

I

Modern historians are of opinion that history should not only be confined to the record of genealogical tables of various dynasties, but should involve the study of the economic, social and political activities of the people of a country during different periods. Consequently great efforts are being made in bringing to light different records in the shape of ancient manuscripts, inscriptions, coins, ornaments, buildings, temples, etc., so as to discover what pursuits the ancient people followed and what was their moral and material condition.

Kashmir having had an ancient, but troubled, history, abounds in valuable records of archeological and historical interest, but, so far, no attempt has been made to put them together and give to the public a connected history (in the broader sense of the word) of this ancient land.

Sometime ago I contributed to the Indian Journal of Economics (Vol. XI, Part 4) a short survey of the economic life of Kashmir during the Moghul Period. In the following pages now I give some broad features of the economic condition of the Kashmiris under the rule of the Sikhs—a period of totally altered political conditions.

The old historians never cared about the fact that the history of a country was made by the people and not only by the kings. Consequently they give very little information of any economic value. But in the study of the Sikh Period this difficulty is mitigated, to some extent, by the records of travellers like Moorcraft (1822-23), Jacquemont (1831), Hugel and Vigne (1835-36).

The Sikh Period is a landmark in the history of Kashmir. After five long centuries of Muslim rule, the country passed into the hands of the Hindus when Maharaja Ranjit Singh conquered it in 1819, since which year it has remained under Hindu rulers, the Dogras succeeding the Sikhs in 1846.

The study of the economic and political life of Kashmir in the Sikh Period cannot be complete until one studies the history of the Afghan Period which immediately preceded it. The Sikhs were by no means enlightened masters, yet both Hindus and Muhammadans considered the Sikh rule far better and far more humane than that of the Afghans. "It must have been," writes Sir Walter Lawrence, "on intense relief to all classes in Kashmir to see the downfall of the evil rule of the Pathans, and to none was the relief greater than to the peasants, who had been cruelly fleeced by the rapacious sirdars of Kabul. I do not mean to suggest that the Sikh rule was benign or good, but it was at any rate better than that of the Pathans." There is not a shadow of doubt about the low standard of life among all the classes of Kashmiris during the Sikh rule, but its main causes were the insecurity of life and property under the Afghans and the numerous atrocities committed in the name of religion by these fanatic masters. It should be borne in mind that the Sikhs ruled for only twenty-seven years and during that period the condition of the people was, if anything, improving. The Sikhs, moreover, took care to hurt, as little as possible, the religious feelings of their Muhammadan subjects; and they freed the country of constant incursions of Bombas and Khakhas who used to loot the people of all their property. Baron Von Hugel, who visited Kashmir in 1836, writes : "The dreadful cruelties perpatrated by their earlier rulers who, for the smallest offence, punished them with the loss of their

noses and ears, make the poor Kashmiris well satisfied with their present comparatively mild government." This is conclusive and if we are in a mind to pity the poverty and wretchedness of the Kashmiris under the Sikhs, we should bear in mind the inhuman cruelties perpetrated on the same people by their Afghan Kings, the record of which blackens many a page of the history of Kashmir.

Since the Sikhs were succeeded by the Dogras, the study of the economic condition of the people under the former is interesting inasmuch as it serves to bring home to us the all-round progress of the people made during the government of the latter, and it is particularly interesting now, when the criticism of the present Raj is, from some quarters, the order of the day.

The country and the People

The Country.—The extent of the area of Kashmir that was under the Sikhs was limited to the Valley proper, viz., from Verinag in the South of Khadanyar in the North and from the Tibetan mountain chain in the East to Pir Panjal in the West. By Kashmir in our survey, therefore, is meant only this small valley and not, as it now generally denotes, the territories of the Maharaja.

Politically the geography of Kashmir during the Sikh Period was very different from what it is today. Across the Sind Valley in the East was the territory nominally under the joint control of the Sikhs and the tribes residing there, but actually the latter had the sole control. And beyond the border territory were many petty principalities engaged in perpetual warfare among themselves. Consequently the Sikhs were left in peace on that side of the Valley. But to the north-west the case was different. The bold and warlike tribes of Bombas and Khakhas who for a brief period were the rulers of Kashmir, and who now and then carried out looting incursions into the Valley, were a constant source of anxiety and danger to the Sikhs. In fact many times during the Sikh Period, Bombas and Khakhas looted the Valley as far up as Pattan and were with very great difficulty, driven back by the Sikhs. Consequently the trade

route through the Jhelum Valley was closed for all commerce. In fact Moorcraft who visited Kashmir in 1822, had to return from Uri as the Khakha Chief would not allow him to pass. Towards south and south-west was the Sikh territory and, therefore, the major part of the trade of Kashmir passed through the Pir Panjal and Banahal Passes.

As regards the internal condition of the country, it was quite different from what it is today. Large tracts of land towards the Lolab and the Sind Valleys were under forests. Much of the cultivable land was nothing but swamp and the now productive karewas (hillocks) were barren. There were only footpaths throughout, and the flood-protection dams and embankments were, of course, totally absent.

The locality of the majority of villages and towns was the same as it is at the present time. But Moorcraft's and Hugel's descriptions of Srinagar or of Anantnag in the Sikh Period no longer hold true. The city of Srinagar was situated more towards the Nala-Mar, where the best houses in the city were to be found. Shekh Muball was the centre of trade and in it were the houses of big merchants and bankers. There were numerous canals flowing through the city, viz., Nala-Mar, Bhutashah Canal, Khojayarbal Canal, Rainawari Canal, etc. These canals were lined with stone "derived frequently from the ruins of Hindu temples, the sculpture on which was turned inwards." They were crossed at various places by stone and wooden bridges. But their general condition during the Sikh rule was that of decay and they were chocked with clay and mud. "The general condition of the city of Srinagar," writes Moorcraft, "is that of a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings, forming a complicated labyrinth of narrow and dirty lanes, scarcely broad enough for a single cart to pass, badly paved, and having a small gutter in the centre full of filth, banked up on each side by a border of mire. The houses are in general two or three storeys high; they are built of unburnt bricks and timber the former serving for little else than to fill up the interstices of the latter; they are not plastered, are badly constructed and are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition, with broken doors, or no doors at all, with shattered lattices, windows stopped up with boards, paper

or rags, walls out of the perpendicular and pitched roofs threatening to fall.... The houses of the better class are commonly detached, and surrounded by a wall and gardens, the latter of which often communicate with a canal; the condition of the gardens is no better than of the buildings, and the whole presents a striking picture of wretchedness and decay."

Anantnag was the chief town in the Valley. There were three hundred shops of shawl weavers and gubba manufacturers. But the town was as filthy as Srinagar, Baramula, Sapur, Shahabad and Bijbihara were also towns of importance.

The Number of People.—There is no record of any census having been taken in the Sikh Period. Travellers like Moorcraft and Hugel give rough figures based entirely on their judgement. Moorcraft writes that the population of the city of Srinagar, although much diminished was very numerous. "One hundred and twenty thousand persons," he writes, "are said to be employed in the shawl manufacture alone; and although this is the chief employment of the population, yet other trades and occupations essential to the support of a large city must at least double the amount. The population of the country is estimated at 800,000." But Baron Hugel who visited Kashmir fourteen years after, writes that the population had declined to one-fourth in the country, namely to 200,000.

The causes of the huge difference between the population of the city and country, and the present figures, are quite obvious. What with the political disturbances and the numerous tyrannies suffered by the peasants, the latter found it very hard to live in Kashmir and a large number of people migrated to the Punjab and India. When Moorcraft left the Valley in 1823, about 500 emigrants accompanied him across the Pir Panjal Pass. Moreover, in 1832 a severe famine caused the death of thousands of people, so much so, that Colonel Mian Singh, when he came as the Sikh Governor in 1833. witnessed from the balcony of the Shergarhi Palace that there was not a single lamp lit in the city and heard no cock crowing in the morning, all the fowls having been eaten by the famine-stricken. Thus emigration, coupled with the famine, had reduced the population

to one-fourth by 1836. The huge population of the city of Srinagar can also be accounted for very easily. Shawl industry which was in a flourishing condition so far as production goes, could give employment to some of the impoverished peasants even though the emoluments were barely sufficient to enable a labourer to keep his body and soul together. Moreover, there was in the city greater secutiy from the tyranny of the Sikh soldiery, and peaants fleeing from the country could live on the charity of the government and the big capitalists.

The Classes of Population.—During five long centuries of Muslim rule, which ended in 1819 when the Sikhs conquered the country, nine-tenths of the population were converted to Muhammadanism, while a large number of the remaining Hindus migrated to the Punjab and India. But still the proportion of the Muslims and Hindus was different from what it is at the present time inasmuch as while the Hindus were not much affected by the famine of 1832, the loss of life was much greater among the Muslims; and the latter alone left the country in large numbers during the Sikh Period. Therefore, proportionately Hindus were more numerous than they are at the present time.

During the Sikh Period there appear to have existed three classes of population—the upper, the middle and the lower. The upper class, irrespective of religion, was composed of the Sikh sirdars, the wealthy karkhanadars or capitalists, and some families of the Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmiri Pandits, in general, formed the middle class, while the lower class was formed of the peasantry, the skilled and unskilled labourers.

The economic classes of the country were the Government, the capitalists and the labourers as regards the shawl industry, and skilled and unskilled labourers in other industries. Government played a prominent part in the marketing and sale of the manufactured shawls, whereas the capitalist was the man who supplied the material and instruments to the labourer, keeping the latter in perpetual debt and consequently in bondage. The economic classes in the shawl industry—

which formed the main industry of Kashmir, employing thousands of men and women—were the same as in the present-day industrial world with the difference that the condition of the worker was worse and much of the burden of taxation of the shawl trade fell on him.

Administration

"From the economic point of view the details of the framework of administration are comparatively unimportant; the merchant or the producer is concerned mainly with the questions : Can justice be obtained and how ? What are the conditions affecting the transit of men and goods ?" We will, therefore, give a broad outline of the method of administration in Kashmir under the Sikhs.

The country was ruled by a Governor, who also represented the Maharaja at all ceremonial occasions. Since Kashmir was conquered with very great difficulty and since the Sikh State was militaristic, almost all the Governors were military men. It was Maharaja Ranjit Singh's policy to tamper as little as possible with the existing laws and usages of his territories. But for a greater period Kashmir under the Sikhs was 'occupied' rather than governed. Consequently there was no code of law, but justice depended upon the sweet will of the Qazi—who was the head of the judiciary—or the Governor. All the cases were summarily tried. The form of punishment was imprisonment; mutilation, so frequently practised by the Afghans being rarely resorted to. "On the branches of it (a chinar. tree)," writes Hugel, "criminals are hanged, a punishment of constant occurrence under the Pathan sway, when the smallest offence was visited by death, but now inflicted only in cases of murder. Men are too valuable to the present Ruler to be lightly spared; penalties and stripes are, therefore, the usual punishment. The people seem contented with the justice dealt out to them, and admitted to me that not more than one guilty person in every twenty is ever visited with the reward due to his crimes." Col. Mian Singh who for many years was the Sikh Governor of Kashmir and during whose Governorship Baron Hugel visited the Valley, was noted for his justice. He was popularly called

Colonel Nausherwan and there are many interesting anecdotes of his method of meting out justice. When he was assassinated by his mutinous troops in 1842, all the people mourned his death and even up to this day old grannies entertain little ones by reciting the ballad describing Mian Singh's assassination which has the burden of kato gau Colonel Nausherwan (Oh ! where has the Colonel Nausherwan gone away).

Crime in any form was altogether absent among the Kashmiris themselves. But the Sikh soldiers committed untold persecutions on the poor natives of Kashmir. "The murder of a native by a Sikh," writes Moorcraft, "is punished by a fine to the Government of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu and two rupees if a Muhammadan."

The practice of begar (forced labour) originally introduced by the Pathans was continued by the Sikhs. Large numer of labourers were employed in the transport of military provisions, luggage of high officials, etc., from one part of the country to another. Even an ordinary Sikh soldier could command a native to do any work for him. Moorcraft and Hugel give striking illustrations of natives being forced to do unpaid labour for their Sikh masters.

The country was divided into thirty-six Parganas. Each Pargana was under a revenue farmer, who may well be compared to a Taluqdar of Oudh before the human Tenancy Act of 1859. He had to pay a fixed amount to the government and was free to collect from the peasants as much as he could. Nine-tenths of the produce were not considered too much for the share of a revenue-farmer. Another important official in a Pargana was a Sikh kotwal who was in charge of a body of troopers and had to perform the varied duties of a police officer, public works officer, sanitary officer, etc. But more often he perpetrated deeds of violence and oppression on the people than looked after their comfort. And many a kotwal levied unauthorised tolls and taxes on the people, the proceeds of which he pocketed himself.

From all this it appears that the administration was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient.

Taxes.—Besides the land revenue, the Sikhs levied a number of taxes and duties. Toll at the rate of one tanga was taken from every traveller who passed the Pir Panjal and the Banahal Passes. Imports from India were heavily taxed and so was the shawl-wool coming from Tibet. At Baramgala, the entrance to the Valley via Pir Panjal, duty on salt was realized at the rate of a rupee for a man's load; the annual produce of this duty being said to have amounted to 2,000 rupees.

Every trade and occupation was taxed. The tax on the shawl manufacture alone amounted for sometime to as much as twelve lakhs of rupees per annum. Moorcraft writes that butchers, bakers, boatmen, vendors of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all paid a sort of corporation tax. "A portion of the singhara (water-nut) crop," he continues, "to the extent annually of a lakh of rupees, it is said, is claimed by the government. The revenue is farmed, and the farmer is independent of the military governor. At the time of our visit the sum paid by the farmer was thirty-eight lakhs of Punjab rupees, equal to twenty-nine lakhs of Sicca rupees, or about two hundred and ninety thousand pounds; but a much larger sun was extorted from the people, although it was only to be realized by the greatest rigour and oppression."

The effect of this oppressive taxation, as may be apprehended, was the impoverishment of the people and consequently large numbers of them flag from the country. The trade of Kashmir was ruined. The heavy taxation of the shawl trade had very undesirable effect on the treatment of labourers by the capitalists, and in a large measure was responsible for the decay of this important industry.

Currency and Weights.—A Sikh rupee was the standard coin, the exchange value of which was about Is. 8d. in the then currency of England. The purchasing power of he Sikh rupee was, however, nearly thrice the purchasing power of the present British rupee. The price of a Kharwar (184 lbs.) of rice (the stable crop of Kashmir) was from Rs. 2½ to Rs. 3½ or

from 4 to 5 shillings. Taking the price of a kharwar of rice at the present time at about Rs. 8½, we at once deduce that a Sikh rupee was equivalent to three British rupees of the present day.

A tanga or anna (1/16th of a rupee) was the chief circulating coin, and all small transactions were carried on with it. Cowries at the rate of 20 to a tanga also circulated as money.

The kharwar and its subdivisions like trak and ser were then also the standards of weight. Shawl-wool, rice and other crops, salt and sugar, etc., were bought and sold by the kharwar and its divisions.

Agricultural Production

Land Tenures.—The immemorial tradition in Kashmir considers the whole of the land as the property of the ruler. Of some portion of the khalsah land the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in jagirs for various periods, but when the country came into the hands of the Sikhs, Ranjit Singh made a general resumption and ousted the possessors of jagirs of every class. Moorcraft gives a clear description of the prevailing methods of land tenures during the Sikh Period :

"The Khalsah lands are now, as heretofore, let out for cultivation. Those near the city are termed sar-kishti, those more remote pai-kishti; or head and foot, upper and lower cultivation. When the grain has been trodden out, a division takes place between the farmer and the government. This was formerly an equal division, but the government has advanced in its demands until it has appropriated about seven-eights of the sar-kishti and threefourths of the pai-kishti crop. The straw falls to the share of the cultivator, but his case would be desperate if it were not practicable to bribe the overseer or watchman to let him steal a portion of his own produce. He has also a house to live in; he can keep his cattle on the mountains during summer, can cut wood and bring it to the city for sale, can sell wild greens and buttermilk, and can support himself and his family upon the wild fruits of the forest. Still the cultivators of Kashmir are in a condition of extreme wretchedness and, as if the disproportionate demand

of the government was not sufficiently oppressive, the evil is aggravated by the mode adopted in disposing of the government share. It is sent into the market at a high price, and no individual is allowed to offer the produce of his farm at a lower rate, or sometimes to dispose of it at all, unit the public corn has been sold."

The Sikhs, however, learnt their lesson from the terrible famine of 1832, and thereafter "revenue divisions were made, and the villages were either farmed out to contractors or leased on the principle that the state took half of the produce in kind. Agricultural advances were made free of interest, proper weights were introduced and fraudulent middlemen were punished. With a view to stimulating population, the tax on marriages was remitted."

There is no record of the amount of revenue taken from different Parganas during the Sikh Period. In fact revenue settlement came into existence only in 1887, before which year the revenue statistics were either non-existent or were very unreliable.

In 1822, 2,900,000 of rupees equivalent to 87 lakhs of present British rupees were collected as land revenue. But what with the famine of 1832 and the method of collecting and selling the government share of the produce, the amount of revenue declined. In 1835 scarcely any revenue could be collected. In 1836, 23 lakhs were demanded, but according to Baron Hugel, it was not likely to be raised. In 1838, Ranjit Singh had reduced the demand to 18 lakhs, but it was not possible to enforce even this collection.

The Agricultural System.—India is called the land of no-change. The agricultural system of the present time has been followed through centuries without any change whatsoever. We find the same implements used, the same manure employed, the same method of rotation of crops followed—in fact everything connected with agriculture is the same, as existed in the ancient Hindu or the comparatively modern Moghul Periods. The agricultural system of the Kashmiris under the Sikh government was the same as it is at the present time.

On account of the general low standard of life and the small production of rice, another principal article of food of the common people was the singhara or water-nut, which grew abundantly in different lakes of Kashmir. The Wular lake alone "yielded an average return of 96 to 120 thousand ass-loads a year. It constituted almost the only food of at least 30,000 persons for five months a year."

The cultivation of floating gardens was carried out very extensively in Kashmir. The gardens yielded cucumbers, melons, watermelons, etc. The price of cucumbers was from ten to twenty for a pice (about the value of a half penny).

Wild fruits grew in abundance in Kashmir during the Sikh Period and many thousands of acres skirting the foot of hills were covered with apple and pear trees and vines in full bearing. These, as well as apricots, peaches, cherries and plums were also cultivated. Numerous walnut trees were planted throughout the Valley and the nuts were retailed in the city for eating at the rate of 100 for 3 pice. Walnuts were chiefly cultivated for the purpose of extracting oil from them. "The country people break the walnut at home," writes Moorcraft, "and carry to kernel alone to market, where it is sold to oil-pressers at the average of seven rupees per kharwar, each kharwar yielding eight pajis (6 seers each) of oil. About twelve thousand kharwars of walnut kernel are annually appropriated to the oil-pressers in Kashmir, producing in the gross return of oil and of oil cake, 1,13,000 rupees, independent of the quantity of nuts eaten by man." Walnut oil was exported to Tibet and used to bring a considerable profit.

Grapes, for wine-making, were cultivated in large quantities. There were about eighteen or twenty varieties of grapes in Kashmir of which four only were of foreign introduction. Grapes were gathered in October and were kept through the winter in shallow earthen vessels till spring, when they were applied to the fabrication of wine, vinegar and brandy. The making of wine was discountenanced under the Afghan government, but was revived under that of the Sikhs.

Saffron was cultivated at Pampur. Half of the produce

belonged to the State and half to the cultivators. It was exported chiefly to India.

The cotton plant grew in Kashmir in every variety of situation. It was shown in May and cotton was gathered in September and October. Cloth made from it was in general coarse and flimsy. An attempt was made to introduce the brown cotton from Yarkand, but it failed.

About a thousand kharwars of kuth or Costus, collected in the mountains of Kashmir were annually exported to Amritsar whence the drug was sent to Calcutta for export to China. For what purpose the Chinese used it, was not known, but in Northern India it was celebrated as a vermifuge and a cure for chronic rheumatism.

An important rural industry of Kashmir during the Sikh Period was bee-farming. Every peasant's cottage towards the Lar Pargana and the Lolab Valley contained four or five hives, which were managed with very little expense and trouble. Moorcraft is all praise for the Kashmir method of bee-farming, since the present scientific system was then unknown. Nowadays the Kashmir system looks rather crude and hopelessly old-fashioned. Honey sold at the price of about three pence a pound, but wax was considerably dearer.

Agricultural industry from every point of view was in a most abject condition; the production was low, the peasants were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour and the state revenue was falling from year to year. There was no regular settlement and the method of collecting revenue was very unjust and oppressive. The peasants had to live for the most part of the year on singhara (water-nut), maize, etc., and their standard of life was very low.

Non-Agricultural Production

Forests.—The extent of the area of land under forests in Kashmir was much more than it is at the present time. Nearly the whole of the Lolab Valley was nothing but forest and similar was the case with the Sind and the Liddar Valleys. The forests were composed generally of deodar, kail and birch

trees and the wild fruit trees grew at their skirt.

There was, however, no government machinery for the proper conservation of forests. They were consequently noman's property. Wood was very cheap and was employed in large quantities for building and other purposes. It was, however, in the Dogra period that proper attention was begun to be paid to this valuable asset of the country, which gives a large revenue to the government at the present time.

Mines and Minerals.—Kashmir is said to possess great mineral wealth but up to this day not even a mineral survey has been conducted. It is no wonder, therefore, that in the Sikh Period mineral production of the country was very little. Iron, however, was produced in considerable quantities from the Sbar and Anantnag mines. Copper mines were said to exist at Aishimuqam, but their knowledge was kept secret lest they should become to the government an additional subject of exaction. The iron and lead mines of Anantnag were under the management of a Sikh Thanadar, and yielded a small amount in revenue to the government.

Handicrafts in General.—Kashmiris from ancient times are renowned for their skill in the production of various articles, which exhibit a very advanced aesthetic sense. In the Moghul Period many fine articles like bedsteads, inkstands, pen-cases, etc., were produced in large quantities. The Afghan rule was nothing but a period of tyranny and despotism in the worst form, and the manufactures for which Kashmir was famous declined. During the Sikh Period, however, some of the handicrafts revived and were a ource of large income to the people and to the government.

The art of papier-machie was in a flourishing condition. Pencases of several varieties were manufactured. Shields, bows and arrows with case, and combs were also made. Every Pandit in former times carried a pen-case in the girdle bound over his phiran of garment, round his loin, or under his arm-pit, wherever he went. The style of painting on these papier-machie articles was sometimes applied to palanquins, elephant houdas, and even to the walls and ceilings of rooms.

The art of paper manufacture was introduced into Kashmir by Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70 A.D.). In the time of the Sikhs, manufacture of paper was carried on very largely near Vicharnag. A good quantity of paper was exported to the Punjab.

The workmen of Kashmir had attained a great skill in the fabrication of gun and pistol barrels, damasked sword blades and shields. Iron, used in these articles, was imported from Bajour.

The carpet-weaving industry originally introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin, attained the highest pitch of excellence during the Sikh Period. The Kashmir carpet industry since then, due to general craze for cheap articles, has deteriorated much. How much proficiency the Kashmir carpet-weavers had attained in reproducing Nature's lovely sights on their looms during the Sikh Period, will be apparent from the following anecdote taken from Pandit Anand Koul's Jammu and Kashmir State :

> "Maharaja Ranjit Singh could never visit Kashmir, though he longed to do so and even started from Lahore in 1832 to fulfil his desire, but had to return from Poonch owing to the occurrence of famine in Kashmir then. Once he wrote in a letter to Colonel Mian Singh, one of his governors from 1834 to 1841 : 'Would that I could only once in my life enjoy the delight of wandering through the gardens of Kashmir fragrant with almond blossoms, and sitting on the fresh green tur." The governor in order to gratify, nay, to intensify his master's desire got prepared one fine green carpet, dotted with little pink spots and interspersed with tiny little pearl-like dots, which looked like green turf with pink petals of almond blossoms fallen on it and few glistening thereon as in spring time. This was a masterpiece of the Kashmir carpetweaver's art. It was presented to the Maharaja at Lahore, and as soon as he saw it, he was so struck with its beauty of design executed in such artistic excellence that he rolled himself thereon in ecstasy, feigning to be rolling on the real Kashmir turf. The chief weavers of this exquisite carpet, named,

Fazal Jan, Jabbar Khan and Kamal were given a reward of a pair of golden bracelets each by the Maharaja."

Textile and Woollen Manufactures.—Cotton, as previously noted, was cultivated in Kashmir but the cloth manufactured therefrom was often of a flimsy and coarse kind; one quantity, however, called Kadak being of a texture particularly close though not fine. The manufacture of cotton cloth was not very extensively prosecuted in Kashmir, because its demand was not obviously great, since the major part of the populace wore a phiran made of pattu for the whole year round.

Silk was produced in a small quantity, but the industry was in a languishing condition. The quantity produced was insufficient even for local consumption.

But the chief article of woollen manufacture which gave employment to thousands of men, women and children, and which was a source of large income to the government second only to land revenue, was the Kashmir shawl. It was during the Sikh Period that Kashmir shawls were sold in thousands to the fashionable world of Europe. The way shawl found its way to Europe is an interesting story. In 1796 A.D. in the time of Abdulla Khan, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, a blind man named Sayyid Yahyah had come from Baghdad as a visitor to Kashmir, and when he took leave from the Governor, the latter gave him a present of a shawl. The Sayyid having gone to Egypt, gave it as a present to the Khedive there. Soon after Napoleon came to Egypt with his famous fleet the Khedive gave him this shawl as a present. Napoleon sent it to France and it attracted the fashionable world there. French traders soon came to India and later to Kashmir and exported shawls of various designs to France.

Diwan Kripa Ram was the Sikh Governor in 1827 and the shawl trade was in a flourishing condition then, but a terrible famine visited the land in 1832 which gave a crushing blow to the industry.

The quantity of shawl-wool imported annually varied from 500 to 1,000 kharwars. The wool was formerly supplied almost exclusively by the western provinces of Lhasa and by Ladakh;

but in the Sikh Period considerable quantities were procured from the neighbourhood of Yarkand, from Khoten and from the families of the Great Khirgis horde. It was brough chiefly by Moghul merchants who exchanged it for manufactured shawl goods, which they disposed of advantageously in Russia.

The price of shawl-wool in different years was as follows :

1794-1807		8 rupees per trak (6 seers)		
1807-1813	16-20	do.	do.	do.
1813-1817	22	do.	do.	do.
1817	25	do.	do.	do.
1822 onwards	40	do.	do.	do.

The chief aim of Moorcraft in visiting Kashmir was to find out the method of manufactured of shawls, so that they might be produced in the increase in the price of shawl-wool was due partly to an epidemic among the shawl-wool goats and partly to the new demand arising for shawl goods from Europe and other distant countries. The spinning of shawl-wool as carried on by women only, who worked from morning till night. The average earnings of an industrious and expert spinner were from 3 to 3½ rupees, or from 6 to 7 shillings a month, out of which, however, must be deducted the price of the wool (32 tangas equal to 2 rupees) leaving for her labour only one rupee and eight annas, equivalent to 4½ rupees at the present valuation.

Numerous varieties of shawls were prepared in Kashmir under the Sikh Government. There were besides many articles prepared from shawls, viz., Jamah, dupatta, rumal, shamla, etc., etc. The price of shawls differed according to the quality of wool, and the number of threads used in a square inch. The price of a plain shawl edged by a single, double or treble border varied from Rs. 60 to 2,200 or from Rs. 180 to Rs. 6,600 of the present currency. The price of jamawar varied from Rs. 200 to Rs. 7,000 or from Rs. 660 to Rs. 21,000 according to the present valuation of the rupee.

The whole value of shawl goods manufactured in Kashmir during the earlier part of the Sikh Period might be estimated at 35 lakhs of rupees per annum or 105 lakhs of the present-day British rupees. The government charged a duty of 26 per cent ad ralorem and in the time of the Sikh Governor Diwan Kripa Ram (1827-) the duty amounted to as much as 12 lakhs of rupees per annum.

Another article of woollen manufacture was pattu which was the chief article of clothing of the poorer people.

England. He, therefore, made a thorough study of this art and detailed descriptions of various processes in the making of shawls were sent by him to manufactures in England. Hence resulted the Paisjey shawls, which fulfilled the aims of this enterprising traveller, namely, the complete destruction of this ancient and flourishing industry of Kashmir.

Industrial Organization. Shawl industry formed the chief industry, of Kashmir during the Sikh Period, giving employment to thousands of people. Other industries were, the carpet weaving, paper-making, papier-machie, etc. The shawl industry had an elaborate and complex system of division of labour. The wool was spun by women, who sold the twisted yarn to the puirango. The latter sold it to the weaver, who first of all took it to the man whose function it was to apportion the yarn into skeins according to colours. Then the rang-rez or dyer was employed, who was able to give it 64 tints most of which were permanent. The skeins then went to the nakatu who adjusted the yarn for the woof and the weft. Then came the turn of the weaver and when the shawl was completed it was taken to the purzgar who cleaned it of loose strings and phiri or seconds-wool.

Weaving of shawls which involves a wonderful technical skill was performed in low, dirty rooms of karkhandars, containing from 3 to 300 weavers. The room was never heated in winter lest the heat might destroy the humidity of the air which is so essential to shawl-weaving. The weavers sat on very dirty and torn pieces of matting and awful smell emanated from the room. The weavers were all males, commencing to

learn the art at the age of ten.

As regards the weaving of shawls there was always two parties, the master or ustad, and the scholar or shahgird, the former being the capitalist and the latter the mechanic. Work was executed under four different conditions. "First for wages," writes Moorcraft, "when it almost happens that a system of advances has occurred, by which the workman is so deeply indebted to his employer that he may, in some sort, be considered as his bondslave. Secondly, upon contract, of which the common term is, that one pice is paid for every hundred needles carrying a coloured yarn that shall have been each once passed round as many yarns of the warp. Thirdly, a sort of partnership, in which the ustad finds all the materials, and the workmen give their labour. When the shawl is sold, the outlay of the ustad is deducted from the price, and the remainder is divided into five shares of which one goes to the masters and the other four to the workmen. The fourth mode is an equal division of the proceeds, in which case the master not only finds the materials, but feeds the workmen."

Almost the same kind of organisation prevailed in the carpet industry. But as regards other industries like leather manufacture, paper-making, papier-machie, gun and sword manufacture, the organisation was just as it is at the present time.

Peasant and Labourer. We have thus far noticed some broad features of the agricultural and non-agricultural productions prevailing in Kashmir during the Sikh Period. Now let us study the contition of the peasants and labourers.

Bearing in mind the wild persecutions of the Pathans from whom the Sikhs wrested the rulership of Kashmir, it is easier to imagine than to describe the wretched condition of the peasantry. The Sikh Governors like Diwan Kripa Ram and Colonel Mian Singh tried to alleviate the sufferings of the peasantry but they could not perform the Herculean task of clearing out all the abuses of the revenue and the judicial system of Kashmir. The peasants were thus in a very wretched condition. Moorcraft and Hugel, both of whom visited every

part of the Valley, record that many towns and villages wore a dilapidated and half-ruined look. Peasants were migrating in large numbers to the Punjab and the rest of India. There were great hordes of beggars to be found everywhere, In fact whenever Moorcraft of Hugel went out of their place of residence in Srinagar, they used to be surrounded by swarms of half-naked and dirty beggars. The condition of labourers was no better. We have seen that an expert and hard-working spinner could earn at the most Rs. 4-8 of the present valuation of a rupee, per month. The taxation policy of the government was so managed by the employers that its greater burden fell on the weaver. Whether he would work or not, be had to pay the tax and this was ruinous to the shawl-trade. By attempting to wrest all the profit from the labourer, the employer over reached himself and killed the industry. The shawl-weaver was considered an inferior order of creation as the proverb would indicate :

Sini muhima sustal, rani muhima khandavar

> "If any vegetable cannot be had, one can still get mallow, if a husband cannot be had one can still get a shawl-weaver."

When this was the condition of the labourers in the shawl trade which was in a flourishing condition, one can easily deduce the condition of labourers in other industries. In short the peasants and labourers lived from hand to mouth and the fuits of their labour were snatched away from them chiefly by the employer and to some extent by the government.

Commerce

Trade Routes. Nearly the whole of the important and export trade of Kashmir with the Punjab, India, Europe and China passed through the Pir Panjal and Banahal Passes. The Jhelum Valley route on account of political disturbances, was closed to all trade. The shawl-wool trade with Tibet and the shawl trade with Russia passed through the Ladakh and Gilgit routes. All the stages on these routes are too well-known to require any mention here.

The principal markets of the productions of Kashmir were

the whole of India, China, Russia, and the European countries like England, France, etc. Baron Hugel, when he visited Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore, saw all his courtiers wearing magnificent and costly shawls of Kashmir. Kuth, or Costus, extracted from the forests of Kashmir was exported to China. The principal articles of import consisted of shawl-wool, salt, sugar, a small quantity of cotton cloth, iron far damasked sword blades, condiments, and gold and silver. The following table shows the chief articles imported from the exported to the following countries :

Country	*Imports*	*Exports*
India	Salt, sugar, gold and silver, cotton cloth, condiments, etc.	Shawls, pattu, silk, honey, timber, carpets, etc.
China and Tibet	Cotton cloth, Kahruba, Muini-ran-i-Chini, tea, etc.	Kuth.
Russia and Europe	...	Various articles manufactured from shawls.

The chief markets of internal trade were different towns like Anantnag, Shahabad, Baramula, Sopur, etc. Each town was, moreover, noted for some manufacture of its own, e.g., gubbas or woollen carpets, were manufactured at Anantnag pattu at Sopur, and so on. The internal trade of the country was carried on by means of boats and beasts of burden. Any kind of wheeled traffic was unknown. There were only footpaths throughout the country; and in the city and towns the streets were so narrow that two persons could, with difficulty, walk abreast.

The standard of Life

From the account given above we cannot but deduce that the general standard of life of the Kashmiris under the Sikh Government was very low. The dress of the people, their

dwellings, in fact, their every article of necessity was far from desirable. Both men and women wore a long and loose garment (phiran) made of coarse pattu cloth. This garment was very occasionally, if at all, washed ahd formed both the winter and the summer dress. A good number of people could not even afford this and they went about in tattered and dirty rags.

On the other hand the aristocracy, composed chiefly of some Sikh sirdars, the capitalists or karkhandars and some families of the Kashmiri Pandits, lived in a very pompous and luxurious style. They had palaces to live in, which contained very costly pieces of furniture like carpets, shawl hanging, papier machie articles, etc. A wealthy karkhandar used to feed two hundred poor people every day. When an aristocrat had to go about in the city, he was followed by a number of servants and his boat was rowed by a large number of boatmen, and even sometimes by pretty boatwomen on whose ears jingles were tied which produced a very pleasant sound when the boat was paddled.

As compared to the present time the standard of life among the middle class people like the Kashmiri Pandits was very low. We have already given a picture of Srinagar where the Pandits formed a good proportion of the population and from it we cannot get any good impression of their general standard of life. The Pandits wore the usual phiran with a girdle of cloth tied round their waist, under which they carried the qalamdan or pen-case. They had rarely a second change of clothing and it was not unusual for a Pandit to apply for leave for a day or two in order to wash his phiran and turban. The food of the middle class consisted of rice, mutton, fish and various vegetables.

The food of the majority of people consisted of boiled rice and vegetables, but not a small number lived on singhara (water-nut), maize and barley. Moorcraft records that singhara constituted almost the only food of at least 30,000 people for five months in the year and the nadra or the stem of the Nymphae lotus, of about 5,000 people in the city for nearly eight months. This is a striking proof of the poverty and low standard of life among the lower class people.

Peasants lived in dwellings which were worse than cow-houses of this day. Even the best house in the Lolab Valley could afford no better shelter in rain than a chinar tree. These huts were made like log cabins and were covered with mud plaster. Moorcraft's description of a typical village in the Lolab Valley runs as follows :

> "The people of Sogam were almost in a savage state. The men were in general tall and robust; the women haggard and ill-looking. The houses were mostly constructed of small trees, coarsely dove-tailed together and coated with rough plaster inside. A flat planking was laid over the top, resting on the walls, and above that a sloping roof was constructed, open at the ends, the space being either filled with dry grass, or serving to give shelter to poultry. The interior was divided by partitions of wicker-work, plastered into three or four dirty small apartments."

A few months ago I visited the Lolab Valley and remained for three or four days in the very village of Sogam. The general condition of the peasantry was far better than that of their brother-peasants in British India. Their clothing, their dwelling houses, their cattle, in short their general well-being was all that could be desired. They wore a happy and contented look in contrast to their wretchedness in the Afghan and the Sikh Periods. Many of them can read and write and they are conscious of their rights and privileges.

The village of Sogam contains about 150 houses, at least half of which are pukka. All the houses are surrounded by vegetable gardens and look cleanly. The village can boast of a school which imparts education up to lower middle standard. The presence of a school in a village, as Mr. Brayne remarks, is a sign of the progressive nature of the people and the government. Sogam has also a well-equipped dispensary and three indoor beds, under the charge of a sub-assistant surgeon. There are the headquarters of the ziladar, patwari and other revenue officials indicating the presence of regular land settlement and regular collection of revenue in easy and convenient instalments. Two cloth and three provision shops indicate the

growing commercial sense of the villagers, while the head-quarters of the Forest Range Officer and the tram-way for carrying timber across the Valley, announce that the villagers can get employment in forest cutting, etc., during their off-months from agriculture.

This description, though incomplete, of a modern Kashmir village serves as a counterfoil to the general low standard of life among the people of Kashmir under the government of the Sikhs, and helps to bring home to us the numerous blessings of peace and good government that we have been enjoying for about one hundred years under the raj of the Dogras.

(*P.N.K. Bamzai*)

II

The British Government in India did not have much to contend with the internal disorder and resistance against them than keeping the northern frontiers of India in fact, from the expansive designs of China and Russia. As Chira is today, Russia was in the last century, always expanding her territory and desiring to stretch herself all over Asia. Although we failed to take a leaf from the past history, it is worthwhile knowing how the British did guard the northern frontiers in the last century to keep Russia from coming downwards.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Petersburg Government of Russia, had already stretched its wings towards the East and South. Expanding from Khiv to Central Asia, they occupied the historic cities of Samarkhand, Tashkand, etc. which were completely different racially and linguitically from the Russian mainland. This attitude of Russia convinced the British in India that the advance of Russia towards the Afghanistan frontier threatened to involve India in dangerous difficulties....

During all this time, the Muslim influence in Kashmir was nil, and few Muslim officials were in the helm of affairs. The Indian National Congress was working all the time for the integration of the state into India, but as soon as the country became independent, the Congress Government invested its entire trust on a Muslim leader, Sheik Abdullah. But one cannot

forget the folly of this misplaced trust when a British lady commented as early as 1948, according to the Daily Gazette of Karachi of the 20th July of that year, that "whatever chances India had of winning Kashmir are being marred by Sheik Abdullah's Government."

Today both Russia and China are at our northern frontiers, and no statesman could boast as Chiang Kai Shek, Nehru and Sukarno once did, that be would be would he safe at the hands of the Communist neighbours. Chiang had to admit in 1948 that the worst of the blunders of his was his tolerance of Chinese communists. Nehru was forced to confess in 1962 that he was living in a world of his own creation. Sukarno, who fed the Communist elements in his country got what he deserved in 1965. Pakistan need not have a longer time to experience a similar fate.

However it is for us to learn from the past history, and see how the British Government in India anticipated dangers and planned the future much in advance and guarded the security and sovereignty of the country. It is not the hollow friendship and mutual flatteries that the countries need, it is the safety and security of the country, followed by a just and sound administration, that counts. In this, India has definitely erred during the last eighteen years, but it is not too late to reform.

British Government in India, no doubt, gave priority for the security of the country's borders, and it is evident by their policies in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Tibet, Nepal etc. The state of Kashmir occupied a vital area in Central Asia bridging China, Tibet, Afghanistan, India, and even Russia from a little distance away. Lord Lytton, as Viceroy of India, carried through negotiations with the Maharaja of Kashmir for the establishment of a British Political Agent at Gilgit then a small district beyond Kashmir that is upon the slopes of the Hindukush Mountains.

We are accustomed to think all that the British did, was an imperialist policy, without even thinking what after all they get by establishing the Consulates in Gilgit, Ladakh or in the Himalayas where "even a blade of grass" does not grow. This impertinent stand on our part has cost us enormously today,

but alas, we hope our Government will now take a realistic stand on these issues. Lord Lytton wrote in his Minutes in 1776 that :

"No person, of course, can deny that the advance of Russia in Central Asia is a matter which may gravely affect the interests of India.... The approach of Russia towards the North-West Frontier may involve India in greater difficulties, and this being the case, it will be wise and prudent policy to endeavour to maintain a thoroughly friendly power between India and the Russian possessions in Central Asia."

In those days, Kabul, Kashgar and Kashmir were surrounded by several independent chiefdoms in an area known as kafirstan. Lytton thought that if these Mirs of Kafirstan were absorbed by their powerful neighbours, the latter in turn would probably become "the political appendages of the Russian or Chinese empire—thus bringing either of these into direct contact with our own." Lord Lyotton further wrote :

The country of the two northern-most of these small chiefdoms (Chitral and Yassin) contains two passes, of which at present we know very little. But if either of these passes (the Baroghil and the Iskoman) be practicable for troops, it would enable our invading force, with a fine Yarkand, to reach our frontier (its weakest point) by a route quicker than any other—Subsequently when it became apparent that we could no longer rationally or safely, rest our whole frontier policy on the fiction of an Afghan alliance which does not exist—my efforts have been to make confidential arrangements with the Maharaja of Kashmir—whose loyalty can, I think, be thoroughly relied upon—By the present arrangement, Kashmir is authorised to enter into treaty relations with the neighbouring chiefs with a view to obtain their recognition of his suzerainty in return for a small subsidy.

...In this connection, it is worthwhile recalling the words of Mr. M.C. Chagla, the Minister of Education of the Union Government, who said :

"Kashmir is the life-line of our defence against China. Loss of Kashmir meant not only the loss of all values we have, all

principles we stand for and all ideals we cherish, but also the loss of Ladakh, which is so vital to India's security—Kashmir stood for something more than the integrity of India. It is a symbol of our secularism, the basis of our philosophy and the most important part of our defence against China. I wish the world outside realises what Kashmir means, instead of talking glibly about plebiscite and self-determination."

(I.M. Muthana)

III

The Pandits (c)

The Funeral ceremony and other after-death rites

From marriage to death is indeed a very big leap. But man's life becomes so business-like after marriage that there is very little in that life to interest the general reader. His life is all work and business. All the presiding deity of the home—woman. And this interesting story of home and woman will be found later in its proper place in subsequent parts of this series.

Here I deal with death and funeral rites and the rites that are performed subsequently for the peace of the departed soul and the satisfaction of the living. Immediately after death lays its hand on the father the son of the deceased performs ancharth ceremony and does the pret-puja. The dead body of the deceased is bathed and a pinda is offered to the dead; then the corpse is placed on the hearse. The bier is carried on their shoulders by the sons and close-relations. Other relatives proceed in a procession to the funeral ground. Before reaching the cremation ground the procession stops midway and again a pinda is offered to the dead. From this place (and) conch shells, gongs and other sacred musical instruments have to be sent back, home.

Among the Shaivite Pandits a very peculiar ceremony takes place at this stage. The Shaivite Pandits dedicate the dead to Shiva. The illustration printed on another page will give an

idea of this dedication of the dead.

They call this affair ceremony, dedicating the dead, present a pinda to it and putting the cropse on the pyre, give tiltarpan, which they call tilodak (sesame & water). The body being burnt to ashes, the whole party make circumambulations round the heap of ashes and retire to the house of the decreased after having thrown the remains into the stream and having themselves bathed at the cremation ground; and then they disperse, from there, to their respective homes. The relatives of the deceased observe mourning by abstaining from toilet (i.e., ordinary shaving) and taking of stale food and meat for the first ten days. On a day, from the 10th to the 13th, they break this mourning by changing clothes and doing toilet and resume their old ordinary diet. On this occasion if the deceased be an old person a feast is given in honour of the dead by the people of the deceased to all the relatives who have been observing mourning.

As to the regular rites and ceremonies that have to be performed by the son of the deceased for one year : upto the 10th day the sutak and mourning is strictly observed by the people of the deceased and his son. For these ten days the son takes and brings back a clay pot, to and from the river, where some Pitri rites are performed with it and which ultimately on the 10th day is broken into pieces. A lamp is kept burning in a corner of a room of the house for these ten days. On this tenth day the son shaves and puts on new clothes that are especially sent by his father-in-law for the occasion. His relatives assemble at his house to condole. He goes into the room where that pot of water and the lamp are kept. He worships them. When he comes out of the house he finds that all his relatives are standing in his courtyard in two rows, on either side, reserving a passage for him between the two rows. He walks, through these rows of men, up to the end of the two rows, the relatives remaining standing on either side. From that terminus he turns back to his house. Now those who like to spend more time at his house return with him, other disperse and go to their respective houses. On the 11th day, feeding of Brahmins, presenting of cow and presenting pinda rice ball to

the deceased pitris, are performed. On the 12th the deceased is included in the company of the pitris of the family and hereafter he is invoked as one of the pitris (ancestors).

Then follow the monthly, six-monthly and yearly Shraddhas and tarpans. And after one year on the first yearly Shraddha the dead attains a definite position in the pitrilok in the society and home of the dead. Thus are the dead disposed of.

The Gods They Worship

Broadly speaking the Pandits of Kashmir may be divided into shaktas—those worshipping shakti, and those who are worshippers of Shiva, the shaivites. The majority of them worship the deity in the feminine form and they give feminine names and attributes to their deities. In Kashmir, throughout almost the whole valley, at various places in particular hills, water oozes out at irregular intervals. One of the most sacred and popular spots is Trisand in a remote corner of the valley, far from Achhabal, and difficult of access. In this spot there is a hollow about 10 feet deep. In this hollow during the months of Vaishakh and Jyaistha, the driest and hottest months of the year, water oozes out imperceptibly three times a day and disappears as many times (there to come up and go down). They call it Trisand Devi, goddess Trisand. And the legend goes that an old Brahman, of 60 years of age, in ancient times, used to go to a distance of 60 miles from a neighbouring village to bathe in a sacred stream. When he grew too old (of 125 years of age) the river-goddess taking compassion on him and being pleased with his devotion told him in a dread that she would ooze out at such and such a place on such and such occasions. During the period of its appearance Pandits go there to bathe in its sacred water, particularly on ekadashi and purnima days of Jyaistha. I too was present on one of these occasions on the 7th June, 1911.

This spot is as dry as a stone during the rainy season; and no trace of water can be found at other periods of the day than those when water oozes out so mysteriously.

A similar phenomenon for which no explanation can be offered occurs at a place called Kshirbhawani about 14 miles

from Srinagar. There is a small pond of water which changes its colour from time to time, into green, blue, rosy, milky, etc. When I visited this sacred spot I found the water of a milky colour. Now this is a pond of water, but the Pandits call it the Goddess of kshir. She is worshipped with kshir (rice cooked in milk). There is a small temple as well, in which the image of Kshirbhawani is installed. Kshirbhawani is the supreme goddess of the Pandits, and is worshipped with the greatest devotion and ceremony, on special occasions, particularly on the ashtami, the eighth day of the bright half of Jyaistha, which is a day of pilgrimage of the shrine of Kshirbhawani. The Pandits reading sacred books and repeating mantras before the pond of Kshirbhawani are shown in an illustration. On the background is a three storied building—a dharmshala—where pilgrims get shelter when they go there. They also live in the village and with the Pandas—the priests. The goddess Durga is another important goddess that the Pandits worship. She is called Durga, but she is endowed with the attributes and symbols of most of all the great gods of the Hindus. She possesses over her head a snake and on the forehead the moon—the emblems of Shiva. She represents Parvati, the consort of Shiva, by bearing the nose ring and ear ornaments. She has also the symbols of Vishnu—the sankh (conch), chakra (disc) and gada, etc. She is also Lakshmi seated on the lotus.

The Pandits also symbolise the Gayatri mantra and materialise or make an image of Gayatri. In this image also they include all the gods of the Hindu pantheon and worship it by a feminine name.

Thus the reader will realise how the Pandits worship the deity giving it feminine attributes, i.e., they are practically worshippers of mother or Shakti.

The festivals of the Pandits

The greatest festival of the Pandits of Kashmir is the new year's day. The new year's day is celebrated with somewhat refined enthusiasm by the Pandits domiciled in the Indian plains as well. On that day to the family of the yajman comes the priest with new-year's calendar and foretelling the events

of the coming year taken his due—dakshina, from the yajman. Fathers-in-law invite their sons-in-law with the daughters to their houses on this occasion, and feed and clad them according to their means.

Another important festival is (Shiva's night) which is celebrated and observed by Hindus everywhere but with the Pandits in Kashmir it is a very big affair and covers several days. First of all houses are washed and cleaned, then on the Saptami (7th day) or dashami (10th day) new cooking pots come from the house of the potter. On the 12th day (dwadashi) is done : a new pot is worshipped, having been filled with water. This worship is said to be done in honour of Bhairav. On the 13th day one person per family keeps fast in honour of Shiva, Parvati and Bhairav. On the 14th or the last day they send Shivaratri share to the daughters in their mother-in-law's houses, in the form of rice, money of cooked-food.

Of other Hindu festivals they observe Dashhara in its simple form and keep general fast on Janmashtami, the birthday of Krishna, as all Hindus do in honour of Sri Krishna.

Secular Enjoyments

The Pandits, both men and women, mostly the latter, are very fond of outdoor life. Throughout the year on different occasions they go out, whole families, in groups of several houses, to enjoy picnics. It is a characteristic of the Hindus that we have dedicated everything to God and religion. If we marry it is to have issue to offer pindas and do shraddho to the pitris and to do righteous deeds, dharma. If we eat, we first dedicate the food to the Lord, and then eat that our body be strong to do righteous deeds. In the same way all our festivals and enjoyments and merry-makings are dedicated to or are celebrated in honour of some deity or other. Likewise the picnics of our Kashmiri Hindu brothers are enjoyed in honour of some local deity or the goddess of the stream or the sylvan deity. On certain auspicious or sacred days it is a magnificent scene to see dongas (boats), full of men, women, and children in their holiday attire with cooking utensils, food stuffs and above all their famous brass-tea-pot, the Samavar,

floating in the Dal lake or the Jhelam river, etc. After some time the women are seen in red and blue groups scattered over the slopes of some hill at the foot of some mountain, under trees, by the side of some fresh water stream or little shrines, etc. The matrons busy themselves in preparing tea, maidens and young wives, in their own separate groups, either quietly watch the splendour of nature and man or engage in gossip. Men—who always talk shop—are also seen discussing their own problems, in their circles. Tea being over the housewives sit round the fire and begin to boil rice and prepare vegetables. The dinner over, comes the time of leisured gossip. The approach of twilight drives them homeward in their boats, sailors and women often singing the wonderful Kashmir folk song, as they go on rowing with eyes fixed on the tiny lamp twinkling in a corner of the donga.

They have a taste for dramatic performances. The Ramlila performance is a popular play with the young and enthusiastic Pandits. Unfortunately modern vices of the West and apish habits are creeping into this once impenetrable valley also. The picture of a Ramlila performance given herewith gives an idea of the bad taste in dress, lack of artistic taste and discrimination, impropriety of characters represented, and the use of that instrument—the harmonium—which a gradually vulgarising and destroying our music. To the extreme right the harmonium-babu and to the extreme left the Parashuram—out of some mediaeval European play as it were—and the coaching-babu standing like a bandmaster at the back, all go to disappoint a lover of the Indian Drama.

The danger ahead

Italy has often been called the possessor of the fatal gift of beauty. So I sould say the physical beauty and scenery of this country and its magnificent climate seem about to ruin it. We see the valley growing gradually to be a haunt of the European tourists. The opinion of the British Government recorded in the pages of the Imperial Gazetteer in these words gives rise to apprehensions :

> "Economically, again, the climatic conditions of the country are important; for it is here that European colonisation is to succeed, if it succeeds anywhere in India. The English race has never yet taken root in India, but it seems possible that with more facilities for occupation Kashmir might become a white man's country." (Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 16).

The people instead of learning the virtues of the West—patriotism, straightforwardness, moral courage, love of freedom and love of one's own people and nation—are learning in vices of the West.

The new generation seems to be hankering after modern fashions—boots, ghari, chhari, cigarettes—and petty clerical posts. They are giving up their simple and convenient dress. They are, to all appearance, separating themselves both in body and mind from the people—the masses. They are cultivating bad tastes and expensive habits.

Who will save the wonderfully beautiful valley of Kashmir—which has no like under the sun—from the 'danger ahead'. People, for protection, naturally turn to the Ruler. In this case people may not see the danger, and may fancy that they are about to be civilised. But the State has to look to the prosperity, progress and the well-being of the country. The State has to save the country from the clutches of modern vices and the demoralising influence of tourists and white settlers. We need, not entertain any bad feeling against the European colonisers, but we shall be proving ourselves less than human if we do not desire to have the best country for our own homes. The case of all Himalayan hill stations is before our eyes. No one uses force to remove us, but we become undesirable neighbours in European quarters and we ourselves cannot put up with the fowl and the Khansama of the Saheb-logs; and thus we have no other alternative than to leave the Hill Stations to the richer and stronger white men. To cite only one example,—how difficult have the lives to live and surroundings to put up with become for the Indians in the settlement of Naini-Tal which was originally a purely Indian settlement; and now

circumstances have turned it into a mere summer resort for Europeans. Again we notice in the interior of the Almora District (in the Kumaon hills) European tea-planters and fruit-sellers already owning the best possible available estates and one or two estates that are owned by Indians are about to pass to white hands.

This is only by way of illustration. Those who possess any knowledge of the real state of affairs in Kashmir must realise that the demoralisation of Kashmir has already commenced. The Hanji (boatman) class has already been demoralised by the holiday-seeking European tourists. This is enough to give a foretaste of the effects of the colonisation of Kashmir. Matters will be worse when the contemplated railway has been led into the valley. It will no more remain the beautiful valley, a garden of nature and nursery of beautiful men. Therefore it is high time for both the State and the thoughtful Kashmiris to realise the danger ahead.

(*Mukandi Lal*)

IV

The City of Seven Bridges

If the ancient City of Rome is rightly called the City of the Seven Hills, the Capital of Kashmir (Srinagar) can most appropriately be called the City of Seven Bridges.

It is to the credit of this land that I can say with great emphasis that the men of no other country on the face of the earth can boast of greater intelligence. But intelligence void of many qualities and high principles is of little avail. I have been told by school-masters and professors that they find in Kashmir the average student sharper than his contemporary of the Indian plains. Kashmir has produced great Sanskrit scholars and philosophic works of which mention will be made later on at its proper place.

Architecture and Plan of the City

The Jhelam, which according to Hindu tradition and legend

takes its rise from Bitasta two miles off Verinag, and according to common sense,—which builds its conclusions on the volume of water and its flow from a glacier as the source of the river—from Verinag itself, flows in its curves right through the city of Srinagar. It washes the foundation stones of almost every wooden house. When it swells, it even makes the lowest storey close its doors and be vacated.

The city is situated on either bank of the river, and begins from the palace of the Maharaja—a portion of which is the ugliest building ever made by any prince. The palace is right on the left of the Jhelam. The accompanying illustration does not give a full view of the palace, yet it gives the major portion and an idea of the building. The middle part of the palace is not rather bad, but the wings need cutting off. The state in modern India, be it the British Government or the native Princes, is wholly responsible for vulgarising buildings and demoralising Indian art. Even an Anglo-Indian writer of the type of Sir John Strachey, G.C.S.I., in his official book of "India" holds the British Government responsible for the deterioration of Indian arts : he writes on p. 294 of his India, 4th Ed. 1911 :

> "India has nothing to learn from us in this respect. We have done much to debase her beautiful and still living arts, and almost all the influence that we have exercised has been destructive."

Note that he is one who justifies and apologises for every action of the Indian Government—and if he says so much, then there must be really great truth in it. We need not quote here the opinions of Mr. Havell, the wellknown art critic and artist. The opinions of men like Fergusson are too wellknown. Dr. Coomaraswamy has often brought it home to the minds of Indian princes that their aping proclivities were not appreciated by Europeans, who understand as much more than the Indians of modern times. The case of that Prince is too well known to be mentioned here who when going to entertain Lord Curzon kept aside European furniture and suffered his palace with Indian, for the time being, and again replaced it by European

as soon as Lord Curzon had turned his back on the palace. The taste of our Princes has been demoralised indeed and there are only a very few who care for and understand the greatness, beauty and utility of Indian art. I may remind our Princes most humbly in the words of Lord Curzon, whom they would have done anything to please, as long as he was in India, that

> "There is no country the antiquities and arts and monuments of which are more precious than those of India."

I may also quote here with advantage Mr. Fergusson, who needs no introduction :

> "Architecture in India is still a living art, and there consequently and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of art in action...those who have an opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the uneducated natives of India produce."

We live amongst such living artists and products of art of so high an order about which the same art critic, Mr. Fergusson, says,—

> "There is nothing in Italy in this sort of decoration that can be compared, in beauty of design, or colour, or effect, with the work found in the (old) palaces and tombs of India."

If the producers of such excellent architecture belong to the race of ours then what makes it necessary to vulgarise our houses ? Indian princes can do much to revive and regenerate Indian arts and crafts if they only take to patronising Indian artists as their forefathers, the old rulers, did.

Kashmir is a country where domestic architecture is executed most wonderfully. The house for the most part being of wood affords a great facility to the artist to show his skill. A slow rowing with keen eyes to find out beautiful houses rather than to detect signboards of curio-shops will enable one to find very beautiful houses down the Jhelam; particularly near the

fourth bridge on the left, there are 2 or 3 superb wooden houses. The doors, fronts, and balconies are very beautifully carved. I can hardly think of more beautiful small houses.

The town is situated on the banks of the Jhelam—the streets all running landward and also along the bank. The Jhelam is crossed by seven bridges within the boundary of the city which is about 3 miles in length. The different parts of the city are connected across by these seven wooden bridges. The houses of wealthy men and big merchants nearly all rise just from the water of the Jhelam as it were. A rowing down the river in the early morn or at dusk presents a unique scene in several respects. In the midday also boating in the river is a pleasant pastime.

Floating shops of pedlars or curio-selling Kashmiri-merchants are very amusing features on the waters of the Jhelam. The people (tourists) living in house-boats on the Jhelam or her tributaries, canals or lakes connected with the Jhelam are invaded by these curio-merchants from morn to eve.

The Filth of the city

The houses for the most part are all built of wood. It is far beyond the means even of the richest in Kashmir to paint the houses. Consequently just after one year or so, all houses grow dark. Gradually the smoke makes them darker and the winter snow covers them to strengthen their dull colour. Thus the whole town wears a very gloomy and dull aspect.

I wish I could not think of the filth and the dirt of the capital of Kashmir. I cannot imagine any dirtier town. Unless the fabulous filth of Tibet were to surpass that of Kashmir, I would hardly allow the laurels to any other dirty place in this respect. Think of the dirtiest possible streets and homes and you will have a picture of Kashmiri towns or villages. In this respect the capital city is the greatest sinner. I found in the muffassil, that the villages were comparatively a little less dirty—though I remember that some of the purely Muhammadan villages were simply disgusting. Of course the Hindu Pandits bathe every day, but what about their yards and streets and

surroundings ? I had the occasion to enter some of the houses of the Pandits of the town too. Some were remarkably clean but others were full of dirt and dust. As to the houses of the Muhammadans and their surroundings, one can hardly bear to stay there. They are store-houses of filth as it were. The houses and surroundings of the Hindus are comparatively cleaner but they too seem not disgusted with the filthy streets and dirty habits.

There are practically no public latrines in the city. Though the municipality has a huge crowd of sweepers in its service, yet they are unable to improve the sanitation of the city. It is no wonder that Srinagar is almost every year attacked by cholera. If there were any city in the plains so dirty, it would have become the home of perpetual plague and cholera. The State and the municipality can adopt very radical and efficacious methods to remove the filth of the city. It is a disgrace to the State to have such a filthy capital.

I was told by people themselves that sometime ago the people had very foolish superstitions : they were actually proud of the heap of dirt at their doors. It spoke of their prosperity !

The People of the City

It is the case everywhere that the cities contain the best men as well as the worst. So it will be no news if I add that the city of the seven bridges contains people who have no scruples to tell lies and to flatter and cheat and that they can do any thing or yield every thing to get money or win posts or official favour from the State officials, etc. Visitors constantly fall victims to the cheating, lies and the sycophancy and sweet words of the people, both high and low, learned and ignorant.

In this respect the people of the country (muffasil) are much better. When I went out into the valley the good qualities and the goodness of the people so constantly and so often came before me that I almost withdrew my remarks about the truthfulness and honesty of the people even of the town.

The people of this city by race belong to one stock—the pure remnants of the Aryans with a little mixture of Turks and Mongolians. By religion they belong to Kashmiri-Muhammadanism and Hinduism, the former being 90 to 85 per cent. Almost all the trades and arts are in the hands of the Muslims. The Hindus (Pandits) think it beneath their dignity to handle the hammer even of the goldsmith or to deal in any trade. Now, gradually they are taking to the least paying trades—some are opening shops of foreign cloth, some are becoming photographers. I may add here in a parenthetical way that almost all the photographers are panits. They would not feel it degrading to touch foreign stuff and chemical solutions but the handle of the honest hammer or the needle is not becoming to them ! They go in for the least lucrative profession if they ever think it worth while to go in for any particular occupation, otherwise astrology and copying Sanskrit manuscripts are the only works worthy of them. The rest are 'unholy.'

The Camping Grounds

The chief features of the suburb of the city are its splendid camping grounds. On the banks of the Jhelam or at the skirts of the lakes there are very happy lawns studded by lovely gigantic chinar trees. It is at the skirts of these lawns and grounds that house-boats are generally moored. Chief of such camping grounds are : the Chinarbagh, the Munshibagh and Sonewarbagh. These are all within the city proper. There are others close by on the Dal lake. The Chinarbagh is near the gate of the Dal lake and is on a canal of the Jhelam connected with that of the outlet of the Dal. There is a part (the best part) of this Bagh which is specially reserved for 'European Bachelors.' The Sonewar and the Munshibagh also are practically in the possession of the European visitors. Poor Indians generally launch their boats near or about Amirakadal and some other odd corners and places. The famous Bund (embankment constructed to dam up the water of the flood) is covered with European shops, offices and the houses for European officers. A most pleasant walk in the morning just after sunrise can be enjoyed on the Bund road.

The Places of Interest at or Near Srinagar

(a) *The Shankaracharya Peak.* There is a very high peak close to the city called Shankaracharya by the Hindus, and Takht-i-Suleman by the Muhammadans. There is a temple of a very peculiar type on the top of this hillock. The plinth of this temple is said to belong to the Asokan period of Indian architecture. Surjit Jagadish Chandra Chatterjee, the Director of Archaeology, affirms that there is some reason to believe the tradition that the original temple was built by Asoka. The one now in existence is said to have been built by the wellknown temple-builder—Shankaracharya. The Muhammadan iconoclasts did only a little damage to it as they baptised it by the name of Suleman, a Muhammadan saint, and thought it worthwhile to respect it, but I am afraid that the present idolatrous rulers may do it more harm than the icono-clasts. Sometime ago a bomb was fired on its plinth on a public occasion and it damaged the temple in part. This hill is made use of on public occasions as a pillar for bonfires to have a complete birds-eye-view of the city and its surroundings this peak is a splendid place : no visitor should miss a climb up the Shankaracharya.

(b) *The Hari Parbat.* On the other extremity is another hill little less in height. It was turned into a fort by Akbar, the ruins of which have now been converted into a state prison. There are some chiefs of the frontier imprisoned in it at present. On the slopes of this hill there are some remains of old palaces. On one side there is the temple of a Hindu Goddess.

(c) *The Dal Lake.* To call this piece of water, which is the second largest in Kashmir, the dal-lake, is a misnomer. Because in the Kashmiri language Dal itself is the word for a lake. However the visitors call it Dal-Lake. This splendid lake is a very charming thing in the city of Srinagar. Tourists and visitors ply on its waters freely and often. The public and the Court also enjoy the Dal a great deal. On festive occasions water fetes are performed in it.

This lake besides produces a large quantity of fodder and vegetables for the city. It is in this lake that the floating gardens of Kashmir float about and are stolen away. They are smallpieces

of fields made with earth spread over mats. Only vegetables and such creepers as bear cucumbers and pumpkins grow in them. They are no gardens but only small patches of artificial fields. They are very beautifully stolen away ! The fields are tied to a long pole stuck to the bottom of the lake. The thief comes in a small canoe. He cuts the rope and drags the whole thing from one part of the lake to another ! The whole of the lake excepting the central part is leased out by the State to tenants on seasonal rents. Thus it pays the State a great deal.

(d) *The Shalimar* and (e) *The Nishat.* These are two most famous Mughal gardens of Kashmir; they are to the north of Srinagar at the base of the northern mountains. Both of them are said to have been founded by Shah Jahan. Shalimar is just after the famous Shalimar of Lahore. It is in ruins now. But the Nishatbagh is being taken great care of by the State and is placed under the special care of Sjt. J.C. Chatterjee. the fountains which number about 200 are now being put in order. On Sundays they are in working order and the scene on that day is simply charming and most impressive. The fountains are very systematically arranged. They are run or supplied with water from a canal that comes from a stream of fresh water. There are some artificial small waterfalls also. At the gate and within the garden there are some small beautiful Mughal buildings with splendid inlay (painting) work in the ceilings. It is a joy to spend the whole day in a fascinating garden like the Nishat. The flower-beds are a specific feature of Nishatbagh.

The uneducated people of India are generally supposed by some people to be void of the sense of beauty and love of nature. In Kashmir both poor and rich, literate men and women, are quite fond of visiting such gardens, flower beds, lakes and streams. They love them. They enjoy the natural scenery as much as any so-called educated being. On Fridays this Nishatbagh is crowded by people, particularly by Muhammadans. They come out of their homes in boats with tea-pots (the samawar) and articles of food—all cooking is made in the boat by both Hindus and Muhammadans, the boat being rowed by Muhammadan boatsmen. They first go to Hazarat Bal, a place of worship for Muhammadans and from there they come to

this garden simply to enjoy and see. It is unfortunate that the fountains are not set at work on this day when the people come to visit it but on Sundays when the tourists come to enjoy it. Further back in the lap of the hills, 1½ mile from Salimarbagh there is Barban—a small lake which is an artificial reservoir of fresh water 20 feet deep, and several yards in circumference. It is one of the most charming and sublime spots I have ever seen.

The Vandalism of the iconoclast

One can hardly imagine another city in India where the ruins of old Hindu temples tell a more pathetic tale of Muhammadan vandalism. Here and there, everywhere are heaps of carved and well cut grey stones of the temples ruined by the inconoclast—Shekandar, the But-Sikin, who demolished all the temples of Kashmir. The stones of these ancient temples have been turned into tombstones and the sites into places of Muhammadan worship, and the materials of the temples used for Muhammadan Ziyarats and mosques. The "Badsha" is a good example. It is a tomb of a Muhammadan prince built on the site of a Hindu temple. In this case bricks are used instead of the actual stones of the temple.

Kashmir is as good in stone architecture as in wood. The remains of these once wonderfully beautiful temples speak of their first rate design and marvellous finish.

The State with unnecessary sensitiveness, for fear of wounding the feelings of the Muhammadan subjects who form the majority, is benevolently indifferent towards the ruins of Hindu temples of this type, the remains of which will not survive ten years hence even to be observed by the tourists and visitors who like to see ancient ruins.

The Ziyarat

It is a very unique place of worship in the valley of Kashmir. In fact it is always the tomb of some Muhammadan saint. To Kashmiri Musalmans it serves exactly the same purpose as a temple does to the Hindus. They city of Srinagar boasts of four very large Ziyarats. One of them is the largest in the

valley and is an excellent example of Muhammadan religious wood architecture. The Hindus worship a stone of the plinth of this Ziyarat, from the river side. They believe or affirm that before the Ziyarat was erected on the spot there lived a Kali—a Hindu Goddess who was a deified Shudra woman—and that she was given shelter by the saint under the base of the Ziyarat at she was an excellent and pious sweeper. Of course this is a legend which is likely to have another version also. I cannot vouch for its accuracy but it is a fact that almost every morning Hindus go to worship that stone in the plinth. The stone just above "a" marked in the illustration of the Ziyarat is the spot that draws to it its devotees every day, while their Muhammadan brethren offer prayers on the platform and the yard of the Ziyarat.

The Missionaries at Work

The description of the capital of Kashmir will not be complete without referring to the work and institutions of the Christians in this charming land. The methods and the proselytising zeal of the missionaries are too well-known to be mentioned here.

In Kashmir I am told up to this time only one young man has succumbed to the influence of the missionaries. The people though poor yet are strong in their convictions. The first word that I uttered to a Kashmiri was the word that I spoke to a boatman at Baramula and it was that I asked him to become a Hindu. I told him that his ancestors were Hindus and he would be welcome in the original fold. He was poor and ignorant too. But he said, "I am contened in my own Muslim fold. And why should I become a Hindu or anything else ? It is the Hindus that become Muhammadans and Christians and not we that become converts." The conversion of Kashmir into Christianity is an impossibility. Therefore the missionaries do not talk of proselytising. But they are doing other things. They are gradually preparing the way. They are making the Hindu Pandit touch the oar which his father would rather die than do. He is taking to cigarettes, boots, watches and European dress gradually. He is sure to be miserable and unhappy in the near future. Discontent is spreading among the half-educated

boys of the Christian Schools. They hate their homes and indigenous things : they can allow the mlechchha to touch the sacred thread when taken to learn diving and similar other water feats. This is done all with school boys, who I am told number about 1500, reading in mission schools in the whole valley, six hundred being in one school at Srinagar. And to repeat the words of a reverend Englishman, the author of the "Holy Himalaya," 'so many lying rascals are being turned into men !'

The reader will laugh in his sleeves if I tell him that the verandah of the mission school is always during school hours quite full of shoes. For all students go into their classes according to Hindu practice with shoes off. This is the way of compromise of the tactful missionaries.

In addition to schools there are hospitals run by the enterprising missionaries. A very large and prosperous hospital is at the foot of the Shankaracharya a hill in Srinagar.

Of course they expect much more of the indoor patients but the outdoor patients are only asked to wait till the largest possible number collect together and then they offer their prayers to the Healer of the sick, who cured without medicine, before the chemical solutions are freely and magnanimously distributed in cups and pots—phials of glass being rare. This is the way of winning. Indeed need and want can demoralise man very easily.

(*Mukandi Lal*)

V

The Pandits (a)

[I take the liberty of reminding my readers that I am trying to give a glimpse of Kashmir and its people in natural sequence in this series. In my last three papers I have aquainted the reader with the 'Why to Kashmir', 'the Hanji'—the most conspicuous, serviceable and corrupt creature, a necessary evil in the valley, a favourite of the tourists,—and have ultimately brought the good reader to 'the City of the Seven Bridges'—

Srinagar, the capital. In this paper, as a matter of course, I shall tell him something about the (Hindu) Pandits of this happy valley.]

Introductory

The premier city of every country always exhibits the best and the worst of the country. It does not include in its civic polity. It does not include in its civic polity the peasants—the backbone and real life of the country.

So in Srinagar we come across the Muhammadan artisans, merchants, hawkers, labourers and the idle; the Hindu Pandits and Pansaris; and the plains-men (the Panjabees). The Kashmiri peasants and the domiciled Sikhs are not to be met with here, unless they happen to be there on some errand of their own, or on begar (the forced labour for which I am told they are paid by the State).

The Hindu Pandits, although they form a minority, about 5 per cent of the population, yet are the most impressive and prominent people in Kashmir. Cities are generally the strongholds of the idle and leisured classes. So the greatest number of Pandits is to be found in this City of the Seven Bridges. But since the people of cities, everywhere, lead a more or less aritificial life, I had to go out into the villages to dtudy the life of these wonderful people. The city displays one particular side of their life and also brings to our notice their weak points and artificiality, and the result on their morals and manners of the contact with the outside world and of foreign influences.

The origin and the present condition of the Pandits

We in India proper by the term pandit understand a learned man. And by virtue of their ancient learning the Brahmins have monopolised this title of pandit. A Kshatriya, Vaishya or Sudra, however learned be many be even in the Hindu Shastras, will never be called a pandit. Srijut Babu Bhagvan Das, though much more learned in the Shastras and the ancient sacred lore of the Hindus than many a so-called Pandit of Benares, will never be called a pandit and has to be contented with the title

Babu.

Thus as a rule the term Pandit (learned) is affixed to the name of the (unlearned) Brahmans also, and it goes to certify their social standing in this huge structure of Hindu caste.

Again there is in the United Provinces and the Punjab a class of fair, tall, handsome, clean and impressive people who go by he name of Pandits.

And though they may not know even a single word of Sanskrit or Hindi—and as a rule Sanskrit to them is what Hebrew is to a modern Englishman—yet they carry with their names the title pandit. These people are much more entitled to this title (pandit) than our Brahman Pandits. For with these people the word Pandit has no reference to learning or occupation but refers to their nationality and race. These Kashmiri Pandits of upper India come from Kashmir, where their ancestors and kinsmen are called Pandits, as distinguished from non-Hindus (Musalman converts) and a few other non-brahmins. The word Pandit, as far as they are concerned, from our point of view, is equivalent to Brahman but among themselves in Kashmir the word Brahman has much more attributes and connotes more than a pandit or the Brahmin in the plains.

To divide the population of Kashmir into two broad divisions it will suffice to say that the whole of this valley is inhabited by Musalmans and Pandits, both of whom come from the same Aryan stock and are cousins.

It must be borne in mind that although 90% of the people of Kashmir are Muhammadans yet none of them comes from a foreign stock and all of them by blood are brothers to Pandits. As far back as the 14th century Kashmir was inhabited by a single race and all of them were Hindus by religion and nationality. A full account of this wholesale conversion will be given when I deal with the Muhammadans; here it is enough to add that they have by force been separated from their brothers. The Kashmiri Muhammadans still bear their old Hindu caste-names. For instance, if a Hindu Pandit has Kaul for his family (caste) name, a Muhammadan also has the same caste-

name tagged to his name. Many Hindu family names are quite common among Muhammadans, which goes to prove their common decent.

In physiognomy, although the change of religion has not yet wrought any great difference between these two cousins, however, the cleanly habits and pure living and certain other essential clean modes of living that the Hindu religion inculcates among its followers have produced a remarkable difference between the personal appearance of the two. The Pandit though surrounded all round by the dirty Muhammadans and himself suffering from his own filthy surroundings, looks comparatively clean and is decidedly more intelligent and remarkably handsome and attractive, while the Muhammadan looks dull and dirty.

There is no doubt that if Aryan migration into India is really a historical fact, then Kashmiris undoubtedly are the last remnant of the last band of the Aryans who settled down in this magnificent valley and have in their veins the largest quantity of Aryan blood. To a superficial observer they took—all Hindus and Muhammadans and the country peasants—as a people coming from the same stock. Yet to me it appeared that Kashmiris too like other races and tribes of the world cannot boast of 'unmixed blood,' of which so much is made in these days. To me it appeared that there is, here and there, Tartar and Mongolian blood, in addition to a little of the indigenous blood, that ran in the veins of the original inhabitants before the Aryan settlement. I found sufficient traces of admixture of blood—though in a very slight and almost negligible and imperceptible quantity—in the physiognomy of not only the Muhammadans but also of the Pandits. Instead of describing their facial features I present here some illustrations from which readers can from their own conclusion. These illustrations give a fair idea of the physiognomy of the Pandits. For instance take "A family group of Pandits taken after some religious worship". This is a group not of one single family, but a family with their friends (relatives). In this group you will find that the matron on your right (with a 'doll-Krishna' in her lap) has a distinctly mongolian face. And I noticed it in the physiognomy of women particularly that in a large number of

cases their build of the body and stature and eyes or cheek-bones were sufficient reasons to presume that there has been in the past some admixture of Mongolian blood. And why we find more traces of Mongolian blood in women that in men can be accounted for by the fact that the Aryan settlers from the north must have married indigenous women of the Mongolian stock that inhabited the country before the Aryan settlement, for there are reasons to believe that the newcomers, as is usually the case, contain a smaller number of women than men in their horde. As to the male population, their physiognomy too does not escape unchallenged. In the same family group there are distinctly three types of faces. What I should single out as Aryans and what as Tartars and Mongolians, is a difficult thing to do, in these days of criticism and no-coming-to-a-single-conclusion. The physiognomy of the so-called Aryans is so varied in different climes. Therefore instead of saying who's who, I give here an illustration of a group of "Five Tartars of Ladakh." Taking this as a typical Tartar type the reader can trace the similarity in the physiognomy of the two and then form his own judgment about the inhabitants of Kashmir—both Muhammadans and Hindus (Pandits)—as far as the question of origin and blood is concerned, and can be inferred from resemblance in features.

I am afraid that this question of admixture of blood may irritate and touch the sensitiveness of some of my Kashmiri friends settled in the Indian plains. And they will be no exception; as in these times there is a hobby, amongst the civilised and so-called educated people, all the world over, for Aryan blood. The chemists cannot weigh the quantity of Aryan blood in the veins of the mixed races, and the biologists of the old Aryans have left neither their disciples nor the records of their experiments; and the followers of Darwin and Herbert Spencer are unfit to handle this question of Aryan blood. However, people do pride, in our country and out of it, over the so-called Aryan blood. The Kashmiris (not the original ones, the people living in the valley, but those living in the Indian plains) are very conscious of the Aryan blood—perhaps in spite of ages having swept over their heads they still feel the

glacial coldness of the Arctic Aryan blood in their veins. Once we had a debate on Mr. Basu's Civil Marriage Bill. My chief opponent was a Kashmiri youth domiciled in the Indian plains. He could not tolerate the idea of intermarriages between the different castes of India. And, of course, not being sure of the logical conclusion, he said that they were the 'pure Aryans' and their brothers lived in Germany. A retort was given him that our purpose would be served if he would recognise the Germans as of the same stock and favour marital relations with them, beyond the pale of his caste. This rather personal matter, I have brought in to show that our Kashmiri brothers living in our midst have a tendency to form a Kashmiri community like that of the Parsis to live as if in a camp in this country, with whose people they ought to mix.

It is a pity that in Kashmir there is no scope for enterprising Pandits. The arts and crafts of the country they have, with the supreme Brahmanic contempt for handicrafts, surrounded to the Muhammadans. Land they get cultivated for themselves by Muhammadan peasants. The old Sanskrit learning finding no patronage and scope has been given up. Only a fewmen of limited vision—can be contented with astrology and temple worship, priesthood, etc. The State does not afford them sufficient opportunity. All the high offices are in the hands of non-Kashmiris—the king himself occupying the same position in Kashmir as a Manchu King did in China, on a smaller scale surrounded by Manchus (non-Kashmiri Punjabis and Dogras). Higher education, on account of poverty, is beyond their reach. New fashions and new standards of living are rankling in their hearts. So the only alternative left for the enterprising and promising Pandits is to run down to the Indian plains, never to return to their mother country. In upper India, these domiciled Pandits flourish very well and some of them are shining brilliantly in the bar and in other learned professions. Some of them can afford to make their summer quarters in England and can boast of the latest motor-car and latest French fashion. They mix with the people freely and cannot be singled out from the crowd unless their names are repeated—such as Pandit so-and-so Gurtu or Kunzru, etc. From my point of view their only

shortcoming is this that they have not yet taken to intermarriage with even the high class Brahmans of the Indian plains—may be that the more forward of them will take to other extreme courses and begin in the reverse order as some intelligent youths are tracing their affinity with Germans. It is good for our whole Hindu nation and good for the Kashmiris themselves that they should widen the circle of marriage. It will be fatal for us all if they raise another Parsi community. Another fault of theirs is this that cut off their connection with the mother country. I would like them to frequently go back to Kashmir and keep in touch with their old relations; and those who can afford may have their own houses in Kashmir for summer residence instead of squandering money in Europe or Massurie. It is very necessary for the welfare of Kashmir that these intelligent and cultured men should go to their mother country often and try to unprove the intellectual and moral condition of their brothers in Kashmir. They would do well also in seeking service in the State there. I hope the Maharaja would be glad to have well qualified Kashmiris in his service.

Of course the dress and ways of living of there people and of the indigenous Kashmiri Pandits are so different that perhaps Indian-Kashmiris feel awkard to make their clean-cut appearance before the old-fashioned people clad in their pheran (long shirt) and pagari (short turban).

A change is at work in Kashmir itself, as the picture of "A group of modernised Pandits" will indicate. Compare this illustration with "A group of Kashmiri Kshatris" and that with "An old Pandit" or "A Pujari—the priest" or with "A family group of Pandits." What a vast difference has come about in recent times between the old generation, and the new, even in this impenetrable vale of Kashmir—for good or worse, who knows ? perhaps for the latter ! The change has crept even on little boys, though fortunately girls are yet free from this scourage—as exhibited in the 'modernised group.' Though the dress of the women is not at all changed in Kashmir yet the contrast is much greater when "A Pandit-woman in Kashmir" is compared to her sister domiciled in India, who sometimes

outdoes even a Parsi lady in dress.

Although I have given the distinct heading "The Pandits" to this paper yet I make mention here of Kashmiri Kshatris. I am quite justified in including them under this heading, as there is not much difference between the two. Their nationality, physiognomy, customs, and manners are almost the same. There is only an artificial difference of name; and to outsiders there exists absolutely no difference between the Pandits and the Pansaris. In the dress of men there is absolutely no difference. In the dress of women there are slight variaiions in the pheran (long shirt) and in the case of some ornaments—which will be dealt with elsewhere in its proper place, later on. I call them Kshatris but in Kashmir they go by the name of Khatris, Boras and Pansaris. These three names are given to them by the Pandits.

But I came to known that the Pansaris are trying to pass gradually for Pandits, and to every Kriya Karma (Hindu ceremonial rites) as the Pandits do. Yet there is a difference in occupation. The Kshatris keep grocers' shops in towns. And this gives them the title Pansari—as in Hindustani a grocer is called (Pansari) so in Kashmiri language it is called Pansari. Their number is very small and they reside mostly in towns. They are scattered in some particular villages also. I was told that in pecuniary matters though they can not be called rich, yet they are, unit for unit, better off than the Pandits. It is due to this fact, I think, that they take to trade and look after their own lands whereas the Pandits neglect and despise both.

However the Pandits have also begun to adapt themselves to the circumstances and some of them have already ventured to take to trade.

The Salutation and Dress (of men)

Among the Pandits there are some Pandits whom they call Brahmans—the priests, gurus. They show much respect and honour to Brahmans. They are supposed to be versed in Hindu Shastras and their services are requisitioned in all Hindu sacred rites and Path, puja, Jap, tap, etc. When the Brahman

comes in, all the Pandits rise to receive him and in salutation say : "Namaskar." He replies "Jaikar"—victory to you—the Jaimans.

Among the Pandits there are four kinds of salutations :

(1) Namaskar (from Jajman to the Guru, priest or Brahman and also from the younger to the older person of elder people).

(2) Orzu—(from the elders in response to Namaskar whole+life, meaning (live your) whole life.

(3) Bandagi (came into vogue since the Muhammadan intrusion and is used by the inferior [actual or presumed] to one's superior.)

(4) Zindagi (in response to the above—Bandagi, from the superior to the inferior, meaning : life [to you]).

The dress of men (Pandits) is not so complex and full of mystery as that of women (Panditanis). A complete set of dress with variations and necessary garments is exhibited in "A group of Kashmiri Kshatris" and the "Family group of Pandits." This is the indigenous and ancient dress of the Hindus of Kashmir. The Pandits young and old wear it and the Kshatris use it too; and with slight changes in the head-dress and sleeves minus the sacred marks of the Hindus, Muhammadans also put on the same dress with the addition of a paijama (trouser) in some cases, which the orthodox Pandits never do. The main and the principal garment is the Pheran (the long shirt with extraordinarily long sleeves). Mark the turned-up-sleeves so conspicuous in the three figures (sitting) in the "Kshatri-group" and in "An old Pandit." These sleeves are made great use of by the Pandits. To me their great utility lies in the protection they afford to the hands in winter and the shelter they give to minor things carried in the hand. But the Pandits use them as 'disinfecting' handkerchiefs. They bring them down to the tips of their fingers and hold pieces of bread to carry to the mouth with the front part of the sleeves or hold their tea cups. Their idea is that things are polluted by the touch of the bare hands, or the hands get polluted. So

they have to be touched through sleeves. It saves them the trouble of washing the hands ! They can remove any number of tea cups out of which tea has been taken by others, and at the same time by the same part of the sleeve they can hold their own tea cups of their mouth or carry a piece of kulcha (a kind of indigenous Kashmiri biscuit) to their mouth. They regard this habit of touching or holding catables by means of these sleeves as a sacred custom now. They used to state at me with wonder, when I, a Hindu, sitting with them for tea used to touch the cup or the Kulcha with my fingers.

It will not be out of place to touch upon one other queer custom connected with this pollution or touch and sleeve affair. They attribute to a woolen sheet or shawl disinfective or unpollutable qualities. So they can carry their meal (cooked rice) from place to place putting it upon and under a woolen cloth. When staying in the houses of the Pandits in the villages and asked by them do dine with them, I used to be seated in the same row with them,—although a non-Brahmin. But either I used to be made to sit on a woolen shawl or my dish was placed on it !

The reader should not ask me how often were these woolen sheets and the corners of sleeves washed—it it a cold country about which I am writing !

(*Mukandi Lal*)

VI

Their Faith

The history of the conversion of Kashmiris to Muhammadanism has been told in a previous paper. As to their faith it is in no way an exception to the general rule, the natural law of assimilation and adaptation. The Muhammadanism of India is not the same as that of Arabia of Persia or Turkey, in its outward form, as prevalent in those countries. The spirit may be the same but the form is different in different countries. Without any fear of contradiction from my orthodox Musalman

breathren I may safely add that in quite a number of cases Muhammadans, in some countries, among the indigenous population, have come to believe in or practice certain things against which the Prophet raised his voice. This point is amply illustrated and borne out by a careful study and examination of the Muslim faith in the vale of Kashmir. The spirit of the Muslim faith—their staunch adherence to their faith and brotherhood, the sense of equality at least in the mosque—and its resultant evils—are all there to be found among the Musalmans of Kashmir, who were only half a dozen centuries ago all Hindus. But they have retained also much of the Hindu spirit—foundness for symbolic worship, reverence for mystic ascetics and some of the remnants of caste. The staunchness of faith and sense of the superiority of their ism, Islam, was forced upon my mind by an ignorant boat-man, the first Kashmiri I spoke to. On my telling him that he was one of us, Hindus, and we would be glad to welcome him back amongst ourselves, he, with a proud intonation, silenced me by saying that it was the habit of Hindus and Christians to change their faith, but not theirs.

I was yet ten and two miles below my destination—Srinagar. Down below the road, across the Jhelam, there was a village with a pagoda-shaped shrine, at one end of the village. The village was entirely inhabited by Musalmans. The pagoda-like temple was a Ziyarat. It was not a mosque. It was a tomb. But it was not a tomb of a King or Queen. It was a stomb of some Muhammadan saint a pir. The Ziyarat, which is to be found almost in all purely Musalman villages, is, so to say, the centre of the Muslim faith in Kashmir. True, the worship of pirs is common among Muhammadan peasants of the Indian plains also, but with the Kashmiri Musalmans it is a regular institution and their faith, devotion, pleasure, festivities are all concentrated at the Ziyarat.

The Ziyarat-buildings are very good specimens of Kashmiri Musalman architecture. The most magnificent one is the wooden Ziyarat, Sahe-Hamdan Saheb of Srinagar on the bank of the Jhelam. It is a superb piece of art. Its construction does not allow itself to be displaed at its best in photographs. I have

looked at its balcony, its doors and upper panes with wonder and admiration. I would have visited it more frequently but for the looks of those keeping the gates and pointing to the begging bowls. They expect every visitor, be he a Musalman pilgrim or an agnostic tourist, to present coins there. There is very beautiful work inside the Ziyarat also, but even in broad day light it is too dark within. It is illuminated during the sacred worship days and ordinarily with a few lamps at night. There is a free school for Musalman boys attached to this shrine which they call Shahe Hamdan Saheb. One thing very interesting about this huge and picturesque construction : It is said that before the coming of a Musalman pir there in whose honour the Ziyarat has been erected, there lived a Hindu goddess who was subsequently expelled from the spot. She, now, is supposed to be dwelling under the plinth of the Ziyarat. On the foundation, above the ground, facing the river (Jhelam) there is a slab of stone in the masonry of the foundation which is worshipped by the Hindus of Srinagar. I have often seen, from the river, the picturesque scene of Muhammadans kneeling for morning prayers in the courtyard of Shahe Hamdan Saheb and Pandits worshipping the symbolic stone below.

At Hazaratbal, about three miles off from Srinagar, on the banks of the Dal lake, there is another type of Ziyarat. It differs from other Ziyarats both in its contents and construction—it is a unique thing. One of the auspicious and sacred days for Hazaratbal fell on a sultry day of the month of June. People approached the spot partly by land and party by water. The approach to this sacred spot of the Kashmiri Musalmans was in itself an interesting affair—men and women all hurrying in crowds so joyfully. The sacred spot is approached both by land and lake. The majority of those going from the town do the journey by boats—Dongas and Shikaras. But the people of the suburb all come for the most part by land, on foot till they reach a ferry where every one, young and old, man and woman, throws himselfor herself in the canoes quite unmindful of the consequences of overloading. Perhaps I was in the last batch, for when I reached there at about 3p.m they had already commenced the first prayer of the afternoon. Human

figures looked like the ripe corn plants being swayed by a strong gust of wind kneeling, rising and muttering prayers. The culminating point of their pious devotion and blind faith made itself manifest in the exhibition of a hair of the prophes beard. Within the shrine in a glass tube, it is said, a hair of the prophets, beard is preserved. The mullas in charge bring it out and exhibit it6 to the passionate crowd from a platform holding it alft; while the devotees of the imprisoned sacred hair look towards the hands of the priest, who does his best to impress on every pilgrim the awe inspiring sacredness and existence of the hair within that tube which alone every one does see. While the motionless mass keeps on gazing at the hair in the cavity of glass standing in the courtyard, with jjoined palms in mode of reverential salutation. each individual mutters a Persian verse which I am afraid excepting the mullas none understands. As rendered in English by Prof. H. Cox it runs as follows;

O apostle of God, come to my complaint,
O prophet of God, I have none but thee.
Difficulties are before me; I am in distress,
O apostle of God, thou art sufficient for me.

It is still a strontg belief of the devoted Musalmans of Kashmir that a hair of the prophets beard is still preserved in the tube. Some people approach it close and touch the sanctified tube. Its touch is supposed to possess the miraculous power of healing the blind. Presents are offered by the pilgrims. The prayers and worship over, nearly all the people indulge in sales, purchases and amusements. The compound, on that day, turns into a regular mart with shops of grocers, drapers, fruit sellers and confectioners:

There are other places of worship in the suburb of Srinagar, as well, where they go on Fridays for worship and prayer. But by far the most noteworthy place of importance and joyful festive worship is Bezhchara 29 miles up Srinagar. The annual fair of this place falls in the 2nd week of June (it may vary, but during my visit it was the second week of June), lasts for a week and is a very big affair. I cannot recall to my mind

anything like it as far as Musalman fairs are concerned. True, in the plains of Hindustan we have very large Hindu fairs like that of Nauchandi and Garhmukteswarm, etc. But in matter of enthusiasm and bustle this fair of Kashmiri Musalmans would perhaps excel. Indeed, the fairs of the south, specially that of Conjeeveram during the month of June and also that of Madura and other sacred places of the south surpass it even in the matter of enthusiasm. From Anantnag I was booked in a boat moored at Bezhehara and the passengers were set at large to take their supper. Through the streets of this town I met quite a number of companies of Musalman peasant women passing along, all singing wonderfully melodious folk songs. They were coming in crowds from neighbouring villages to the place of worship the Ziyarat. And the principal day was yet to come after six days. This prologue was sufficient to bring home to one,s mind the greatness of kthe affair; but it failed to convince me and I did not make any effort to break my journey there. In fact I had set my heart on reaching in time Srinagar to proceed to Kshirbhawani to join a big Hindu fair. I regret this unconscious partiality But had I known how grand an affair it was and were I convinced that it was an excellent opportunity to observe a phase of Muslim life, I would certainly have stopped there. As I came down the river I came across boats laden with merchandise, merchants and pilgrims. And by the time I reached Srinager I was convinced of kthe greatness of this fair. One more visit to Kashmir only to see this fair and one that falls in the month of Shravan generally the last day of June in honour of a Hindu Goddess 9 miles off from Srinagar will repay all the trouble and expense.

The Jumma Masjid at Srinagar is a huge affair a monstrous building, a prayer city in ruins. I have not yet seen its like in size. excepting the temple of Madura . I am not taking into account art, beauty or utility or the solidarity of the building: but as to dimensions no wonder if it surpasses anything of its kind The ceiling is supported on very long and thick cedar beams whose number made me feel as if I were actually in a cedar foresı. I was told that the number of the wooden pillars was 180 a mystic number always. This huge structure is

almost quite in ruins and does not encourage a long stay within.

As far as I could see, I found the ignorant Musalmans of Kashmir as faithful, religious and superstitious as the ignorant mass all the world over. There is much of real religious spirit and godliness among them and as evidence of this I refer to a school of kministrels of Kashmir and a type of songs which are by no means only the property of of mystics byt are popular among the people as well. I have given elsewhere two Kashmiri sontgs rendered into English bt Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswami bearing on a different theme and of adifferent spirit; and now I give below two more songs: one, the long one, rendered by Dr. Coomaraswami from the original of a Kashmiri minstrel, and the other translated by Prof. Cox They give just an ideal of kthe religious fervour and spiritual ideals of Kashmiri Musalmans in a nutshell.

O my soul, hear and be ashamed,
If you know Him, then keep that knowledge,
It is duty to pay debts,
Remember thou art not the reward of man but jkof God.
You should be afraid for your lite.
Somehow keep hold of kthe curbing sin.
O dweller, whence have you come to whom were you born.
You aredsforgetting your native country.
Lest you be put to shame at home, O empty pocket.
If you know Him then keep that knowledge.
The knife of the butcher is sharpened, O sheep.
Why do you feel nothing in your heart ?

Death wokuld part one limb from another.
Only the log knows what teeth lkthe saw has
Like a worm Death cuts at your life
When he begins, also will make an end
Gofar who was sad has been gralppled with the sweet
Make not the lsweet pea bitter4.
Oh single, jslpend your days kwith the saints"
If yoku know Him , then keep the knowledge.

I have seen the Friend in many places,
I have seen Him sometimes kan old man, sometimesa youth,
Sometimes playing as a child.
I have seen the Friend in many gplaces.
I have seen Him a Musalman at the Kaaba,
I have seen the Friend in many places.

These two songs kdo credit to the faith and religious conception the of ignorant and illiterate Musalmans and render unnecessary further delineation of and comments on their faith.

VII

The Pandit women

When one thinks of Kashmir, as a rule, "beauty" comes upper most in his mind I mean, one who has never been to Kashmir is accustomed to believe that Kashmir is the land of "beauty" And beauty he applies to and identifies with the women of that land of fabulous beauty.

The people are handsome, the climate is exceedingly healthy, the manners and customs and the mode of living of the people are classical. I can hardly imagine any other land more fascinating. But this is from a purely aesthetical standpoint.

To the lover of his country every nook and corner of his land, and every set of people are equally beautiful. Verily I can not put Kashmir above other parts of my land India. However, the general belief is that the people of Kashmir are remarkably beautiful; and that beauty centres arround the women of Kashmir No doubt it is a fact that from the aesthetical poinnt of view there is average beauty in Kashmir. Both men and women are as a rule handsome and one meets very few ugly faces in Kashmir; I could not discover among young folks more than two in two months.

The complexion of the people generally and of Pandit women is very fair with a rosy tinge. But the build of their body does not make a very favourable impression. Their stature

is comparatively short. The legs are shorter still.

It seems their dress also does not heighten their personal charms.

No Parda

Among the Pandits of Kashmir there is no Parda except among a few aristocratic and rich families, whose number is very small and negligible. So in reaching Kashmir a tourist can not at once jump to the conclusion that the country is inhabited by men only As a European lady tourist once in the columns of this Review remarked in an able article that in North India women are invisible and she was at first led to believe that there were no women in Hindustan. But in Kashmir on the contrary she would be impressed very much by the free and independent life the women lead there. They occupy a very important position not as helpmates of men and managers of the household. Although as a rule women can not speak with the visitor in Hindi (men invariably do) yet jif a Hindu visitor pays a visit to a Pandit family (in the muffassil). he will talk to men, but it is the women of the house that will entertain him with tea and rice . They still follow the old Hindu custom of washing the feet of the guest before placing food before him. This hospitality is done by women. I was simply embarrassed when on various occasions this washing the feet hospitality was going to be done to me. I always refrained from allowing my feet to be washed by them; though the hot water with salt in it was a treat for poor feet in the cold climate after a long walk to the village.

This hospitality is met with only in the muffasil. The people of the city have come to have an unsocial. unhospitable, rough and close life the bane of city life all the world over.

The advocates of Parda have much food for reflection here. The Hindu Pandits in Kashmir, roughly speaking. are only 5 per cent and they are living side by side with Kashmiri Muhammadans whose number is so overwhelmingly large that it comes to 90 p c . and they (the middle and upper classes) have made it a part of their new faith to observe Parda. Yet the Hindus have not learnt this pernicious custom though they

have been living together for nearly 700 years, whereas the Hindus of India proper have taken to Parda so ardently, and so rigorously. And the result on lthe physique of the Pardawala Muhammadans is so apparent. The Pandit women keep by far the better health and are much more beautiful than the Pardanashin ladies of the Muhammadans although the same blood runs in the veins of both. I was told that gradually Muhammadan women on account of their confinement and the use of the veil (burka) are catching a soit of skin disease. They look emaciated and very pale, though they breathe the same air and live in the same healthy region. Parda can ruin the physique of people living in even the healthiest regions of earth.

Woman s influence

In all social matters woman's voice predominates. As here in the plains of India amongst the Pardawala people women wield great power from behind the Parda, so in Kashmir it is the wife or mother who act ass the legislator of the family . She has the power of veto in regad to marriages. If it pleases her she can get a girl married at 7 and a boy at 5 years of age. She is the equal of man in every respect, with only the difference that like the women of Burma she do not go out to earn for the support of man and child. Barring Burma my impression is that women among the Pandits occupy a more independent position than in any other part of India. Madras would stand as a rival to Kashmir in this respect.

Education among women

Very few of them are literate. The Pandits have on objection to the education of women. But they have no facilities and can not get its advantages nor have they got a fancy for female education. Educational facilities are now being placed at their disposal and a start has been made in the town. The people are yet indifferent to woman's education, as they do not see how it can materially improve their lot. Besides they are too poor to spend anything on education . However, their being in Parda, one of the stumbling blocks in them was of female education in our land. I strongly hope that women's education

will make a rapid progress, without creation a want for closed carriages for girl pupils, (I am not envious that our sisters go in carriages when we have to measure the distance by our legs; but the point is why should tram cars not be used to lessen the expenses.

Her position in the home.

In Kashmir, as the daughter of the house she is well clad and free to play and frolic. Her liberty is not curtailed even when she attains the age of puberty and is again as free when she comes to her mother's house from her father in law's A young girl's life is a life of joy and frolic and fun. She plays, she jumps and she screams in fun. She goes to the bank of the mighty Jhelam and throwing off her skirt, down the flings her self on the hosom of the Jhelam and lo ! here she swims like a metmaid.

Soon comes that period when restrained freedom and unwelcome responsibility and duty come upon her shoulders in the house of her husband. But there also before she is made to feel the burden of the household duties and the seriousness of life., she has a glorious and fascinating kperiod of life.

She has been married to a widower of 40 years of age. Her age is 15 years. It is her first day in her husband's house. She has three sisters-in-law who make love to her, caress her, fawn upon her, look minutely at her ornaments and apparel and in fine admire her beauty. The women of the village come in groups and indidvidually to court her, to make friends with her , to see her; some come to find fault with her beauty behind her back, others to praise her to her face. They ask her "How many brothers and sisters are you ?" We are seven" is most probable the answer, as it is an auspicious number and the deficiency can be made up by including cousins among brothers and sisters. Some ladies bring her presents. Now they will lead her to the stream of the presiding deity of the village. Her sisters-in-law will show her their fields, and gardens and cowsheds. They treat her with kindest regard and a fondness mixed with respect. The new wife

thinks she has been introduced to a new heaven, a fascinating world. She knows not that the friendliness and sympathy is likely to change into animosity and antipathy.

The first scene over. the curtain is raised and the adored bride is introduced into the household. Now what is her round and routine of work ? To some it might look as a piece of drudgery and slavery. But to be sure, an average Hindu wife loves nothing more than to handle the cooking pots and preside at home . True her right position in the Hindu home is to be the presiding deity of home and hearth. Before she takes over the charge of the hearth and cooking pots she has to labour hard to reach that envied position, which she will inherit one day by right of succession and according to seniority. During the period of apprenticeship a Kashmiri wife has to lead a life of duty and beauty .

How women occupy their time

In the early morning she and her sisters occupying yet the same subordinate position are given stale rice to eat and a cup of hot tea to sip . Break fast over, the women of the house, excepting the matron, who is in charge of the hearth, go to the stream to fetch water. Then some of them disperse to milk the cow, some go to adjoining miniature gardens to pick up karmakasag (a famous and most remarkable and indispensable vegetable of Kashmir).

In the meantime the time for the midday meal comes round: and having served the dishes to men they wash their dishes. And how they wash dishes and other utensils of similar nature is indeed a very interesting an unique mmethod. All the dishes are gathered together. By turns each dish is taken up. First each dish is washed (not cleansed) by water, then the lady washing them breathes her breath upon every dish and places them on one side. Then again she scours them one by one with dry dust, and the cleansing ceremony is done. Yes, different people have different ideas about cleanliness True the breath of man pollutes instead of cleansing' The dirt (dust) is dirt after all . I have noticed it among Marwaries also that they clean utensils with dry dust and the

application of water is supposed to be pollution. And what on earth can be washed without water. The Kashmiri ladies do not take the trouble of going out to wash utensils. They do it within the house generally by the side of a window, through which they throw out the dirt, which gathers outside.

And they say the extreme cold in winter has made them so. But in the summer they could go out with advantage. The snow is not blocking their doors. Yet I observed the above phenomena in summer months and in several houses of middle class Brahmins. Perhaps habit is to be blamed for this .

Now comes the turn of women to eat They can eat and chat as well enjoy their meal. They have no scruple to remove the dish of rice from one corner of the house to another or from room to room where it may be convenient to chat. Their favourite dining places are balconies and window. And how much they eat. Not more than double the amount of rice that their sisters could swallow in Bengal. I remember that to my great surprise I saw little children of 7 or 8 years of age eating double of what a young man of Hindustan could do.

Then after the wholesale washing of utensils. comes a period of relpase which is passed in gossip and telling tales and nods of sleep now and then, One thing is noticeable. They are social and communal. as unlettered women all over the world are. Modern education makes them unsocial, reserved and proud of course, there are exceptions everywhere to be found.

This repose is followed by activity. They join in a party to thrash paddy for the night's rice and the next morning. Having done this they disperse to garden to pick up karmakasag and fruits. In the dusk they go to fetch water and welcome cows. Night comes on and brings night duties to the hands of women; lighting the lamp, making the fire, cooking the food. laying the table and washing the utensils, etc. Having done justice to their own share of the meals they prepare the beds and then pass some of their time in talking to one another telling stories, tales and legends from Hindu mythology.

In all the hill tracts of our land women even of the rich classes take a considerable part in agriculture, in some places they do much more work than men. But in Kashmir the women of the Pandit class do no field work, however poor they may be except in very few cases. It is because they look down upon agriculture as below the Brahmin's dignity. Therefore the lands of the Pandits are cultivated for them by Musalman peasants. This is one of the causes of the comparative poverty of the Pandits. The noblest profession discarded.

I had the occasions, in the muffassil, of closely observing the life and work of the women of Kashmir. It impressed me very much with its beauty in simplicity and peaceful life of the people ., The homes are in themselves things of homely beauty This life in the womb of the Himalaya is an ideal life for peaceful people of few wants and unqualified contentment. The calm, the leisure, the peace and seclusion from the busy world retirement in nature's lap if this is life, then life in Kashmir is beautiful and fascinating. But true life is the life of struggle, life of sorrow life of work, life of progress, life of change and assimilation. But there is none of these ingredients of true life in this . It is a life of beauty and poverty. The people are poor indeed . But none is too poor to go out and stir for a better sort of living. They are contented and happy . And no doubt it is a life of beauty, not of duty.

The dress and ornaments

Beauty in simplicity is one characteristic of the Pandit women of Kashmir and complexity in simplicity is another. They have only one shirt a long shirt like garment for kthe decoration and protection of their body and apparently only one piece of white cloth for their head dress. But these two garments are so complex. The long shirt used by both men and women is called Pheran in the Kashmiri language. There is a great difference in the cut, sleeves and pockets, etc. of the Pherans of men, unmarried girls, married women, and widows.

The Pheran of an unmarried girl is like that of man's in shape. except that kit has broader and shorter sleeves. The

Pheran of girls has a pocket goes to the left side. In the Pherans of unmarried girls, hem is not used whereas in those of married women a broad hem is used. The sleeves also become longer. The long sleeves of married women one turned upside at the wrist and the part turned up is generally of different material than that of the cloth of the Pheran. It is, embroidered cloth or some brilliant coloured piece. The colour of Pherans is generally red, blue or violet. Married Pandit women have a red or green long piece of silk or wool or cloth round their waist over the Pheran. It serves the purpose of a belt but to the Pandits It has a particular meaning and has become almost a conventional piece of dress. Married women while at their mothers' can often dispense with it. But in thir father-in-law's house they have no license to part with this belt like garment. They call it Hul. They begin to use this conventional garment after they attain puberty.

A glance at "A study", the illustration given, will, I hope give a real picture of the dress of Panditanis. The Muham madan women's Pheran is less complex and differs in details And the Pheran of the Pansari (Kshatriya) women differs from both and stands midway between the two . To point out only one difference, the sleeves of the Pheran of Pansari women are open in the middle. This and other differences are intentionally introdced.

The head dress of Pandit women is much more complex . Before marriage girls use a kind of beautiful skull cap. This is used in place of Tarang by such married girls as are too young or have not attained puberty; the headdress of the married women consists of four things: (a) kalposh, something like a skull cap, (b) zaje is a strictly religious piece of headdress given to the bride at the time when she attains puberty; this is a long thing that spreads over the forehead is generally a coloured, brilliant piece: (c) taranga is long piece of white cloth tied round the forehead as Parsi women have; (d) puch, a long sheet that covers all those below, and covering the whole head, spread over the shoulders and the back ; apparently this is their principal head dress a

plain white sheet

The above mentioned four kinds of headdresses are given to the girl at the time of her marriage. But they are taken off immediately after, in the case of little girls and are given back to them when they attain puberty. On this occasion a solemn ceremony is performed, which costs from two to three hundred rupees even to middle class Pandit. From this time onward hul and saic (belt) are invariably used in the father-in-law's house. The latter can be put off now and then while at the mother's house.

As regards ornaments, the most important is Dizharu. The Dizharu is a beautiful gold ornament. It hangs down from the ear between the shoulders and checks by a silk thread pinned in the headdress passing round the ear. There is another ornament which goes with it. It is a sort of ear ornament. These two together rather form a single ornament and are never separated from a Pandit woman. It is an indispensible ornament for a Panditani after marriage. Even the poorest woman has to use it. Look here at the force of custom. How many of us, even those who get enough to eat, can afford to use gold ornaments ? I am reminded here also of a similar custom among the peasants of the southern part of the Madras Presidency. I was struck to find all women in the fields wearing gold ear ornaments. Verily ornament is no guarantee of prosperity. There is one almost invisible ornament worn round the neck. It is called hattiful. This is used at the time of marriage and has to be thrown off every time a death occurs in the family, and is again used when one in the house is to be married. No marriage in the house can be solemnised before this ornament decorates the neck of the married women of the family. Anant are big gold rings used in the ears. Matrons use them. Those who like and can afford use all sorts together. These ear ornaments are all golden ones and they are regarded as religious and auspicious paraphernalia of a woman. They are above law. They cannot be confiscated. They cannot be sold to satisfy the creditors. The court cannot decree their sale. Silver ornaments are used in forms of bangles—Kachchakkar and Guns round the wrist. Grown up women

use nothing on ankles or feet, only girls use (anklets) silver on ankles.

(*Mukandi Lal*)

VIII

The Musalmans (a)

The Conversion of Kashmir

The conversion of the purest stock of Aryan-HIndus of Kashmir to the Islamic faith is a unique and interesting event. The story of this wholesale conversion, which goes back to 1323 A.D., is yet related by people in glowing language with a sense of pride in the martyrdom of their ancestors. I have said at the outset that my account of 'Kashmir and Kashmiris' is based not on books or State records but is the result of my own observation and investigation. I shall tell my readers the story of the conversion as it is known to the people and as it was related to me by an old Pandit of 72 years of age—he was a living book of history with a historical mind, wonderful memory and intelligent grasp of facts. My readers will find elsewhere (hereafter) the legenary history of Kashmir as related to me by this historian. Here I am concerned with the history of the conversion of Kashmiris. His version is that a Buddhist widow came to Ramchandra the Commander-in-chief of King Sahadev and said that her husband had been killed in a Tibetan battle. She craved for shelter. She was enciente and shortly after gave birth to a boy, Ratan, who is known by the name of Ratan Zu or Ratan Shah in Kashmir. To cut short this long story here, he usurped both the command of the army and the crown of Kashmir and married Kut-rani, the daughter of Ramchandra. By 1323 A.D. he had become a powerful tyrant. He approached the Brahmins to recognise him as a Hindu of Brahmanic cult. They despised him as a bastard renegade. He was in the habit of listening to the Gita read to him, every morning. One day he came across that verse in which men are advised to stick to their own national Dharma (religion) upto death. He said to himself : 'I have no Dharma

of my own. Hindu Pandits do not recognise me as a true Hindu. Now I must have a religion. Very well I shall embrace the faith whose follower I meet with next morning.' The next morning first of all he met Bulbul Shah, a Muhammadan mendicant, who was then wandering about in Kashmir. He made him his Guru (Pir). He got himself initiated and also changed his name to Sultan Sadarud-din. Then he decided to win followers to the new faith. One day he issued notices that he was going to give a grand feast and that every family of his people must send one representative to take part in his royal feast. People gladly flocked to the capital to enjoy the king's hospitality. They were asked to assemble in a maidan with faces towards the west. Bulbul Shah and his royal disciple turned up and commanded the people that they should repeat "Alla-ho-Akbar" or they would all be heheaded then and there. This drill over, the people dispersed. The royal enthusiast proclaimed throughout his kingdom by beat of drum that all those guests had become Musalmans. When they returned home they found their doors closed against them, without even being asked to explain their situation—such is the blind bigotry of us the degenerated Hindus ! Thus we lose our men! Had they been then taken in, Kashmir would have remained a country of Hindus as are other Himalayan regions—with a purely Hindu population. These people formed a community of their own. So men were joined by their devoted wives and loving children, others had to take advantage of Muhammadan custom and law. HIndu widows who were not allowed to re-marry became wives of the new converts according to Muhammadan law. It will not be out of place to add here, that even to-day every year Hindu-Pandit widows who have no chance of being remarried as long as they remain in the Hindu fold, do often marry Muhammadan husbands according to Musalman rites and thus decrease the number of Hindus and increase that of Muhammadans. This is a fact that was related to me by some earnest and out-spoken Pandits. And this is a fact that has of late drawn the attention of some far-sighted Pandits. One of two Pandits of the orthodox school told me that this question seems to force them to introduce widow

remarriage lest their number should considerably decrease in this way.

To turn to the main point, the number of new Musalmans was also increased by the outlaws and criminals of Hindu society. Those who were excommunicated for social offences by the Hindus became Muhammadans. So far the movement originated by Ratan was peaceful. About the origin of Ratan the recorded evidence is that he was a Tibetan adventurer who had joined Ramchandra having come to Kashmir after he had fallen out with his father in Tibet. In this matter story and history agree, that he was the first to introduce Islam into Kashmir; and they mark also a period from this conversion episode according to which calculation they find themselves in the 7th century after this conversion of Kashmir. Ratan could not do much for the spread of Islam as he died within two and a half years. His queen married Adhyandev, the brother of the former king Sahadev. During his time a Tartar (the old Pandit had called him Turk but evidently he meant Tartar) named Arban attacked Adhyan. After his death, his wife, Kut-rani, ruled herself, for a short time. In 1343 A.D. Shahmir, a Musalman, took the throne and Kut-rani committed suicide. Shahmir became Sultan Shamsuddin. His descendant Sikandar came to the throne in 1394. He was a very bigoted Muhammadan. He made it his business to demolish Hindu temples and convert Hindus by force. Hindus had to flee in order to preserve their religion. It was a time of great trial and oppression. It was during this period that the Kashmiris were converted wholesale, only a few Pandits being able to preserve their faith—and that they were able to do by hiding themselves in out-of-the-way places or leaving the valley for Kistwar and the hills of Jammu. After this period of forcible conversion was over, they again returned to their land and formed into the present Pandit community. The religious earnestness and faith of the Hindus counts a large number of religious martyrs and those who suffered unspeakable sufferings for the sake of their faith. The fatal hand of this great iconoclast of Kashmir, Sikandar Butshikin (idol-breaker as he is called there) is everywhere to be traced in this valley. More ruin of ancient

Hindu temples are hardly to be met with elsewhere. It had such a huge number of temples. Even in the town of Srinagar their number is so large. The stones of the temples in the vicinity of Srinagar have either been utilised in the making of mosques or turned into tomb-stones. Being afraid of offending the Muhammadan subjects the State is not even now stopping. Musalmans from the barbarous practice of defiling and making misuse of the ruins of the ancient temples in Kashmir. True the State is very anxious and is already doing much to preserve and restore the temples outside the town, which are not likely to excite the suspicion of a feeling of partiality among the Musalman subjects. Thus the conversion of Hindus into Muhammadans and the devastation of Hindu temples was practically brought about only by one man and this man was Sikandar Butshikin, whose name is so familiar and is known even to little children in Kashmir. The reconversion of Kashmiris from Muhammadanism to Hinduism could be brought about so easily by the Arya-Samajists that no wonder if within 50 years we could again see the country inhabited by the people of one faith. But I was told that the State did not like the idea of the Arya-Samaj starting this propaganda. Indeed, religious neutrality is the best and safest policy for modern states, but it is a part of religious neutrality that there should be religious freedom. So the reformers may be allowed to reclaim their brothers. I do not advocate the conversion of one people by another people as there comes the question of upsetting the immemorial traditions and ideals which if rightly explained and followed serve the purpose of uplifting and guiding nations; but I strongly desire the reclaiming of our own brothers, who once were sheep of the same fold. I do not suppose that the State does not realise that the conversion of the people into Islam has degenerated the people in more than one way; and if they were brought back to the old ideals and made to live as Hindus do, comparatively cleanly and smartly, it would be a gain to the State. Again the question of religious animosity must have come to the notice of the State now. Last year (1911) during my stay in Kashmir I was so much pleased to find that Hindus and Mahomedans lived there on very friendly

terms. They were free from the bias of class interests that has been created in British India. It had never struck a Musalman of Kashmir that his interest was different from that of a Hindu Pandit. But now the evil spirit has penetrated there and only a few months back the Musalmans were excited by wire-pullers to hold a protest meeting and represent not to the Maharaja but to the Political Agent that their interests should be safeguarded and that partiality should not be shown to Hindus in taking them into the heavenly kingdom of clerkships. Who these wire-pullers could be, is easy to imagine. If they are short-sighted they at least boast of ideals and wish to derive benefit from the agitation. I strongly urge that the State ought to let the Arya-Samaj reconvert the people peacefull and all trouble will be at an end.

Various types of Musalmans

Kashmir is indeed a land of wonders. I could not believe that there were so many different types and classes of people even among the Musalmans. There is the Hanji, whose history has already been told. The reader must have noticed well-marked and conspicuous subdivisions among the Hanjis themselves. The Musalmans peasant is another class. The city of Srinagar and minor towns are inhabited by four types of Muhammadans. One class, which I might call the upper class, consists of the merchants and trading people. They bear a respectable look. And their proud mark of distinction is that they keep their women in seclusion. Some of them have grown very rich and are generally pretty well off. The second class is of those who do petty shopping and engage in crafts, such as smithy and carpentry, etc. This class, which is distinctly an industrial one, is an exceptionally smart and intelligent type of craftsmen. I was told by Mr. B.C. Gupta, Electric Engineer to the State, that these ignorant craftsmen of Kashmir are superior even to the technically trained mechanics of America. He has been able to manufacture certain machines and instruments for the use of his electric heating-works in the State Cocoon Factory, by simply showing them patterns. And these things are done as well and cost ten-times less than those imported from America. This class of Muhammad~ns also observe partial

parda. Their women can move about with veils on. They go out for seeing their Pirs and Ziarats on Fridays, and can go out to gardens also. The third class corresponds to the poor class people of cities and their occupation is miscellaneous. Their women cannot afford to observe parda. They sing welcome songs standing in rows on either bank of the Jhelam when the Maharaja approaches his palaces by the river in a grand procession of boats when he comes to Srinagar from Jammu. Then there is a class of Muhammadans, the custodians of Kashmiri music and national songs. There are two kinds of them. One class is of regular minstrels and bards. They go about from place to place and house to house with their rabab. They are dignified musicians. They sing Kashmiri national, mystic, devotional and heroic songs. One of these musicians, whose photograph is given here, was engaged by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, at Srinagar. He has transliterated some Kashmiri songs which I hope sometime will be published by him. Out of these songs he has worked at, he has kindly sent me some, two of which I give below in the version of Dr. A.K. Coormaraswamy himself and I leave it to my readers to realise how much poetry there is in the songs of this illiterate minstrel whose music it was indeed a matter of great pleasure to me to enjoy.

[*On the advent of springs; addressed to a comrade*]

"Lo, spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Spread jessamine upon the balconies !
The name of jessamine is glorious for ever.
From afar I saw Him come to me
To my courtyard to this huri He came.
Lo spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Oh burn my blood to lamps of love,
Fulfil the love of Islam.
Lo spring has come, rejoice dear comrade,
Muhammad will tell the secret of love,
Hansraj by name he shall be called,

Lo spring has come rejoice dear comrade".

[For your sake I am burning]

"O heartless one, for your sake
I am burnt to ashes,
This love, O beloved, thou hast forgotten.
Joseph was carried away to be sold.
Oh heartless one, for your sake I am burnt to ashes
In fate's bazaar God send you buyer,
Arrive, Oh friend Joseph !
O heartless one,
When I looked for you I searched the whole world,
I put on arms and shield.
Every string of love I will play upon.
Hearken to this singing, my Beloved.
O heartless one,
Majnun climbed up mount Najdar,
Weeping he threw himself down;
Majnun alas in the desert of Najd, Laila in the grave !

I reserve the other two songs which are purely mystic and philosophical, for some future occasion. The above two pieces which have been rendered into English by Dr. Coomaraswamy are the outpourings of a truly national minstrel of Kashmir. The other set of singers and musicians as illustrated by "Kashmiri minstrels" is an altogether different kind of musicians. They have with them generally 2 to 4 boys dressed partly like women and partly like men. These boys sing and dance as well while the minstrels play on musical instruments and sing also in harmony with the boys. They are more or less a sort of professional musicians. They sing Persian songs as well as Kashmiri : now they are picking up some Hindustani songs also. In the accompanying illustration only one man is playing on the stringed instrument but the general practice is that there are always more than two rabab or Israj players.

Then there are two unique and interesting though by no means desirable, set of Muhammadans. (a) The one, as is said

now and then indulges in bloody and inhuman practices and (b) the other is a robbing class by profession. (a) Rafij as they are called belong to the Sunni sect. They hate all non-Sunnis (both Shiyas and Hindus); and, it is said, they deem it a part of their religion to kill non-Sunnis by the peculiar method which is described below. They owe a religious grudge to all the non-Sunnis. These people live in some special parts of the valley, in groups of villages. Their strongholds are near Baramula and also in the subrub of Srinagar. When any foreigner happens to go to their village alone they inquire of him to what faith he belongs. If he happens to be a Shiya there is very little hope of, his escape. They take him to a room and regard him as a sacrifice to their pir. They ask him to express or satisfy his last desire. Then they pierce his body with bunches of needles till he bleeds to death. They get some of his blood absorbed in cotton and keep that bloody cotton for their pir, to whom they offer his blood as sacrifice. But fortunately this inhuman practice...gradually becoming a thing of the past. It is myself one afternoon roamed through a group of villages of the bloody Rafijes, Indeed their looks were terrifying and wherever I went I was started at and each man I met with in the villages asked me to what faith I belonged. I did not understand their motive then. Afterwards I was told that only last year one man was put to death in one of these villages. A Rafij of one of those villages owed a certain sum of money to one Hindu-Pandit in the town of Srinagar. The debtor happened to come to the criditor's place; the latter asked the former to pay up his debt. The debtor requested his creditor to go to his house some day. Accordingly the creditor followed by his dog called on the Rafij debtor. The poor fellow was killed by a band of these Rafijes and his body was buried in a field. The dog had watched the burying of his master's corpse. The dog helped in the discovery of the crime and identification of the culprit who was duly arrested and sentenced to death by the law courts, his accomplices being generally severely punished. All the Rafijes subscribed—as they usually do on such occasions—a huge some of money to defend their criminal co-religionist but in vain. This story sounds like a fable but I was told that it is a

case in the records of the legal proceedings of the State court, for 1910.

Besides their being such bloodthirsty bigots, they have a very queer custom also among them. They clean the bowels of their dead with a stick wrapped with cotton, before the corpse is disposed of. Their widows can marry one husband after another to any number at the death of each. They have much liberty to divorce their husbands and marry another according to their own sweet will.

"A group of Rafij Muhammadans of Kashmir" will illustrate how they look. It is indeed hard to believe if such bloothirsty people can still inhabit our earth. And after all it may be that my information about them is true of the past, not of the present. (b) The other set of the Musalmans who rob people rather with their constant. A typical group of such people is to be found in a cluster of four houses in the village of Bravan in the Anant-nag Tahsil. They are called Galvan. They have grown so rich by their trade they they own much land and about a thousand ponies. They are supposed to look after the ponies of all people of their Tahsil, for which they are paid 8 As. per animal. If any one's horse is stolen or lost within their jurisdiction they go about in search of the lost property. And if they find the pony in the possession of any one they threaten him that he is a thief and they would take him to the court, etc. Then as is usually the practice, they get bakhshish from him and let him enjoy his peace of mind at home. They bring the pony to its owner and demand from Re. 1 to Rs. 3 [bakshish from him also. That is one department of their trade, the order is the stealing of horses from such Tahsils as they are not responsible for.

They are serviceabe to people in this way that during the summer months they gather all the ponies of their State—rather order the people to bring their horses to them personally—and then take them to grazing lands in the meadows of the Himalaya and look after them. As the winter approaches they bring them home.

So far a general idea of the Musalmans of Kashmir—their

occupations and propensities—have been given. It will be shown in the next part what is the difference between the Muhammadanism of Kashmir and the Hinduism of the valley. The customs and institutions of the Musalmans will also be dealt with in the next article.

(*Mukandi Lal*)

IX

The Hanjis (Kashmiri boatmen) by religion are indeed Musalmans but they form a distinct class by themselves which is subdivided into four subsections. They seem to belong to the lowest stratum of the old Hindu population. Therefore, being in a way somewhat different from other Musalmans, whom I would rather call the Musalmans proper, their ceremonies and rites naturally are rather quite different in details. Hence the necessity of describing here, separately, some of the important sacraments (rites) of the Kashmiri Musalmans.

Preliminary Rites of a Child

Birth : After the fifth day and again on the 40th day the mother of the new-born child has to take a bath for her purification and cleanliness.

Name giving ceremony takes place it any time after the 40th day.

The ceremony of cutting the hair is performed on any earliest day after the fifth month.

Circumcision—Khatna-hal. It takes place at any time between the fifth and the twelvth year. This is a momentous period in a Musalman boy's life. Consequently the ceremony is rather an elaborate affair. The preliminary course occupies seven days and then the circumcision takes place, which can be done on any week-day excepting Thursday and Friday. On the seventh day they put mehndi, red pigment, both on his hand (fingers, nails and the palm) and on his feet (nails and soles). Eventually the initiated boy is taken to a Ziyarat to present Niyaz, offering. And there the Mulla reads to him some appropriate verses from the Koran and he is made to repeat Khutam.

Marriage

A go between is almost—at least conventionally—quite indispensable in settling a marriage. The bridegroom's father takes a mediator with him to the house in view. The father of the would-be bride welcomes them and entertains them. Then the mediator formally discloses the object of their visit-though the purpose of the visit and preliminary negotiations were already an open secret. Having taken the consent of the girl's father the parent of the boy presents a certain sum of money, according to his means, before him in a dish. After some time the father of the prospective bride comes to the house of his would be son-in-law with the customary object of seeing the condition (material resources) of the boy—and perhaps not to see the ability or character of the boy. This visit confirms all their previous engagements and after this event he cannot decline to give his daughter on any ground whatsoever. Immediately after an essential ceremony, the word-giving, takes place, which in Kashmiri language is called gandun. On this occasion the groom's father pays a customary sum of Rs. 25 and presents a lump of salt (from 10 to 15 seers) and silver ornaments (for the bride). And as a matter of conventional eciprocity the bride's people too, present to their would-be son-in-law a shawl or Rs. 5 in cash. Either on this very day or on some nearest future occasion they fix the date for the celebration of the marriage. The principal ceremony takes two days. On the first day,—in their respective houses, he-barber and she-barber put red pigment on the hands and feet of the groom and the bride respectively. The same day the bridegroom's people send a ram, which must never be a castrated one, to the bride's house. and as long as the food for the occasion, to feed the processionists of the coming...from the groom's house, is in preparation, the man who brings the ram remains their and is supposed to be supervising the preparations. Then the bride's people send a messenger to the camp (house) of the bridegroom to tell them as to how many men they should bring with the groom in the procession. These processionists, the people of the bridegroom, bring with them a box containing one seer of salt, one pair of shoes, bangles of silver and

necklace and apparel for the bride. I cannot say for certain if it is the invariable custom but I have seen one marriage procession in which some processionists were dancing while passing through the town and they particularly halted in the courtyards of influential Hindu Pandits. When the procession reaches the bride's place the fater on the bride throws water off the groom's head in a dish; and then puts a rupee in that empty dish (thali). When the processionists are feasted they sit to eat, four taking from the same dish. When they have all finished dinner the bride's father demands money payments from the groom's father for menial servants, potters, village watchman, doms and the masjid. Finally the real or the essential function, the Nikah or the marriage sacrament is solemnised. But before the Nikah is read or before the groom and the bride are brought before the Kazi, two witnesses and one vakil are presented before him. He sends them to take the consent of the girl. Indeed, too early ! This is all a farce, the father having already given his word for his daughter's hand. Who knows when these unrealities will vanish and the girls will actually have their voice in deciding their destinies. The vakil, who is always a maternal uncle or a brother, asks her, in the presence of the witnesses, if she is willing to be married to so and so. If she keep silent, her mother says "Yes" for her. The consent is generally given by this form of proxy. But "no" is never expected ! Then Kalma is read to the bride and the groom. And the Kazi questions the groom thrice about the responsibilities of married life and his duty to his spouse. The bridegroom's people give the Kazi some cash or presents. On the return journey the conveyance containing the bride precedes the groom. The bride is given money by her people which she places at the feet of her mother-in-law on her arrival at her husband's house. When the groom reaches his door his sister closes the door against him and admits him after the pays her something (money presents) which they call Janmbrant. Their honey-moon period covers seven days.

Life—Man in Action

Thus ends the happy period—from boyhood to adulthood—of the life of man and woman as well. After it the life is all

business, and struggle for living, discharging of duties and fulfilling of responsibilities. Man goes out to the world. If he is a peasant—a farmer—he rushes out to the farm and field; if he is a townsman he either goes to the anvil of a blacksmith or silversmith or to weaving halls or to the shop or a-hawking.

Woman in the Home

In the case of upper-class city-women she is at once introduced into the comparative (in most cases complete) freedom of her fatherland. She is welcomed and patted by the old women, particularly the mother-in-law, in the new house. The cooking pots and weaving wheel are introduced to her and she to them. There was a time only a decade ago when she use to do embroidery and other fine work on shawls, cloaks and women's garments. Life is arduous and a very serious affair for her now. The greatest burden of domestic work falls on her shoulders, in which she so cheerfully engages herself firmly believing it to be her spiritual mission—a duty, to discharge which in the service of man she has been sent into the world.

The night comes for her with its charms. She is expecting her lord. He brings with him into her room the world of happiness—a heaven on earth. She feels that he does it but never says anything. She serves him like a bond slave but it is she who enjoys the most in serving. He visits her as a matter of course and to both of them it is all a part of their business to meet and talk and again depart.

When she has to go out (mind I am speaking of the middle and upper classes) she has to wear a dirty veil.

The most enjoyable time for these townsfolk is generally Friday or other similar days when men and women all go together in boats in family groups taking their cooking pots, teapots, etc., with them to the places of worship, where they move about in gardens with much ease and freedom, even removing veils from the faces to let the air of heaven to blow on them freely. As I have remarked elsewhere, the use of dirty veils among Musalmans has brought about a skin disease which is gradually increasing.

But the life in the country and particularly among the lower strata of Musalman society and the peasants is free and open, without the parda system, like that of the Hindu Pandits. As to the duties and work their women too are supposed to be born custodians of home and hearth. Cooking and other domestic work and threshing paddy is their chief concern. Women in Kashmir do very little field work unlike other Himalayan hill districts.

Death-Ceremony

It is a very long leap from marriage to death. But the gap has been filled by work and struggle for living. By this time he and she have created other human beings to replace them and to help them on the path of heaven. The ruthless hand of death takes away the father or mother. The son buries the parent and puts a rough stone over the mound—the stone in most cases comes from the ruins of same old Hindu temple, or generally the temple and its courtyard itself is changed into a graveyard. Then he asks the Mulla to read Fatiha at the tomb. This garupuran reading, which is expected to help the dead on his way to the next world, being over, he (the son) distributes pieces of bread among such of his co-religionists as had come with him. This function of scriptural reading, of Fatiha and distributing of bread is repeated, fortnightly during the first year. Afterwards it is only once a year that Fatiha is read there, flowers strewn on the tomb, water sprinkled about and bread distributed. It is needless to remark that like Hindus perhaps they also hope that the pieces of bread reach the deceased in the Pitrilok—a very cheap shradh indeed !

(*Mukandi Lal*)

X

In agriculture primitive methods are followed. Ploughing, dreesing the soil, sowing, weeding, watering, and then cutting the corn, all is done by masculine hands. The weeding is a most romantic and interesting scene. If you go into the valley

in the early part of June you will see in the fields rows and rows of stalwart semi-nude men by twenties and thirties weeding with their hands and singing most melodious songs. I have watched with pleasure these happy contented and honest workers turning their appaent drudgery into a joy. How happy and joyous they were ! Another picturesque scene is to see them ploughing together in rows.

It has also to be remarked here that cultivation is also done in the Dal Lake right on water where they spread earth on mats and sow over this artificial field. These artificial fields are often stolen away by rival peasants at night.

Besides the above description of field work the farmers have to do much irrigation. Water is lifted up from streams, ponds or wells by means of their rude, primitive contrivance which casts them practically nothing besides their own labour.

Cocoon-Rearing

In addition to or along with agriculture Cocoon rearing is quite in vogue with the Musalman peasants of Kashmir—Hindu pandits regarding it as an unhoby profession. It is an old and indigenous industry of the country. Formerly silk also was prepared by the people themselves; and it was also manufactured into cloth by them. But now the peasants are made to rear cocoons only. The industry was practically dying out until the state saw in it a great source of income and came to its rescue.

The state is very keen about cocoon-rearing and does all it can to encourage this industry. The state imports tested seeds from France and gives them gratis to the peasants on condition that they sell all the cocoons to the Government and nobody else. And also that they should not keep seeds themselves but should depend for it on the state. The peasants have to bring all the cocoon to the doors of the state factory at Srinagar and get Rs. 15 per maund as its price. If they were allowed to sell it to the highest bidder they would get nearly double the price at their doors, for the same quantity of cocoon is sold in the foreign market for three times the value the state gives them.

The state gets silk (thread) out of the cocoons at its factory which is run by electric power and packs off the raw silk to European countries, the annual out-put being from 20 lakhs to 25 lakhs, the net profits for the state coming up to 7 lakhs. I am afraid it will be considered out of place here to remark that there are provisions (house and machines) for he manufacturing of silk in the same factory but the state does not deem it worth while to take the trouble of manufacturing silk, which in the beginning would not pay, but in the long run would be a paying business. Every year about 4,000 maunds of cocoon are brought to the factory by the farmers.

As far as I could see for myself, the people seem to be quite adepts in the art of rearing silk-worms. It does not cost them much to rear them. One old man provided he has others to assist him in fetching mulberry leaves, can look after a farm of moderate size. They set apart some rooms of their houses for silk-worms and these rooms are carefully kept warm. There are some particular districts and villages where this industry thrives. Others have only to envy the fortunate people who live in the vicinity of mulberry trees.

Coolie work and begar

During the period of their leisure peasants do ordinary coolie work also. They are subject to forced labour also. The state can collect any number of them and at any time, for state work. And...that they are paid for this forced labour.

...In addition to the ordinary domestic duties there are two particular occupations of women among the peasants. Threshing the paddy to get rice out of it is the sole work of women. Go into a village in the afternoon or in the forenoon and you will see women enjoying their usual drudgery. They make it a point to do this important work always in company. If there are not many women in the same house they will join or invite the neighbours to do their threshing together, so that they may talk, chatter and tell tales while throwing off the chaff and husks of paddy. This corn-threshing-place plays the same part in their life which the wells and other water-places do in other parts of our country. The hens, which come to

take their share round about them, sometimes vex them so much that the threshing pole has to be used to drive them.

Some peasant women keep small shops similar to those kept by Tibetan women at Ghoom (Darjeeling). Their merchandise consists chiefly of kulchas (indigenous biscuits and cakes) and vegetables or spices, etc.

But the important occupation next to threshing the corn is spinning. The spinning wheel is or rather was a great friend of women in other lands too, but in this cold country during the winter it is this which occupies their time and warms their hands indoors.

The boys and their work

The children of the peasants are everywhere very helpful to their parents. There are a number of odds and ends which need tiny hands and bouyant natures to perform. Going with the cattle to look after them in the pastures or attending upon the mill or carrying tiffin to the parents at work, is the heaven-ordained duty of the child.

The grown-up urchins such as are exhibited in a group given elsewhere go about for manual labour. If they happen to be not far from the town of Srinagar they come every morning to work in the silk factory of the state—and it is a pity that for this arduous and unhealthy labour of cleaning the cocoon and getting the thread out of it they are not paid sufficiently. The photograph of peasant boys exhibits such as are the victims of and principal workers in the state factory. The silk factory is resorted to both by Musalman and Hindu Pandit boys. In the said group four of those sitting are Brahmin boys. The sacred thread of one of them, that sitting in the extreme left, is noticeable.

One fact very remarkable about the boys of Kashmir is this that they do not use the loin cloth even up to a very advanced age. It is a common thing to see boys of about twelve going about quite unabashed in the nude condition in its literal sense. They, when desirous of bathing or sporting in water, throw off their long shirts on the banks of the river and

plunge head-long into the water without any loin cloth about their person. One of the boys with open mouth and a pot in his hand is a sample of this nude state of Kashmiri boys.

The Kangari, or Fire-Basket

In this illustration two of the boys hold two small baskets of a peculiar kind. These are fire-baskets which they call kangari. This fire-basket is a constant companion of the people, particularly during the winter season. In a family there are as many kangaris as there art individuals in it, each carrying one about with fire in it, on their person or in hand. One would hardly believe if I were to try to convince one that they (specially women) keep it on their person under their long shirts (pherans). And when women sit on the ground they have still the fire-basket, they warm themselves with, under cover of their shirt, while an outsider cannot imagine if they are being warmed up by invisible fire. Thus with fire within them they carry on quite animated and lively talk. During winter it is an indispensable paraphernalia of peasants and working men and women.

The Hospitable Nature of the Peasants

Peasants almost in every country, where they are yet untainted by modern civilisation, are very hospitable. Once a Scotch lady told me that a few years ago, the Scotch peasants were proverbially hospitable—a rare thing in modern Europe. In our own land they have been and are still very hospitable. The Kashmiri peasants are no exception to the rule. I have had practical experience of their hospitality when I went out to tramp the valley leaving our party behind at Srinagar.

Wherever I went, I was greeted with these phrases kut gatsa and khyasta khabar, a strange combination of Sanskrit and Persian. The former phrase is the corruption of and the latter of the one meaning, where do you go ? and the other, what is the news ? The latter phrase seems to have very unpleasant historical associations. It seems it has come down from the tyrannical times. When the whole country was constantly in a state of panic, the first thing they wanted to known was

the tale of oppression or forcible conversion. Now the phrase simply means, how do you do or how does it fare in your village. One afternoon, while I was out tramping about in the neighbourhood of Veninag I came across a lovely orchard and ever-green lawns in the vicnity of a very large village. I laid myself on the turf under an apple tree. The children were about me close at hand. Some villagers wanted me to spend the night there and enjoy their hospitality, which I thankfully declined. After a few seconds an unusually tall Musalman woman clad in a long orange shirt (pheran) happened to come by and implored me in her own Kashmiri dialect to do honour to them by accepting their hospitality. I had nothing but a stick with me and was lying carelessly on the ground. This fact struck them, and they saw in me an unusual visitor or a madcap. I remember, the same woman conveyed to me through her interpreters, the boys that were present there that if I came in autumn, I should be at liberty to eat to take with me any number of apples. I was also asked if I would take walnuts or rice with me for myself. I left the charming spot reluctantly for Veninag struck with the hospitable propensities of the peasants.

(*Mukandi Lal*)

XI

According to he census of 1901 out of a population of 1,157,394, Kashmir possesses 1,083,766 Musalmans, 60,682 Hindus and 12,637 Sikhs. The Musalmans are only nominally so. Barring their filthy habits they are Hindus so far as their civilisation and social polity are concerned. Their shrines, which are so different from the mosques of other Musalman countries, are situated on those very spots which are associated with Hindu gods. They never think of Mekka; Rishis. Babas and Pirzadas are objects of their veneration—the divine beings whom they worship in Ziyarats. But traditionally they also divide themselves into Shaiks, Saiyids, Mughals, and Pathans. Shaiks are by far the most numerous and are the descendants of the Hindus. Such Hindus caste names as Kaul, Bat, Aitu,

Rishi, Mantu, Ganai derived from Brahminic names, and Magre, Tantre, Dar, Dangar, Raina, Ratho, Thakar and Naik derived from Kshatriya septs are still common among Musalmans.

Two very peculiar types of Musalman sects have to be mentioned here though strictly speaking they belong to the agricultural (Zamindar) class. There are some Musalman colonies in the south west of the valley where the Pathans had originally settled. The most interesting of these colonies is the one belonging to Kaki-khel Afridis at Drangham. They retain all the old Pathan customs and speak Pastu. They adorn their persons with a picturesque dress and carry about sword and shield on their person. They regard themselves as a brave and chivalrous people and when they are in a rage there are no men (foes) skilful and powerful enough to vie with them. They pass into the wilds and encounter bears with sword in hand on foot, or with a spear on their ponies. In the early days of the modern State of Kashmir its rulers were not indifferent t their valour and they were employed in military service, for which they held villages free of revenue.

Another sect of this type of peculiar peasants are fakirs, profession beggars. They own several villages and work as agriculturists in summer and go about begging in winter. They are proud of their profession and are not disliked by the people either. They contract marriages with mendicant peasant families called Bechanwols. This mendicant peasant tribe i scattered in the valley and does not own any particular area nor have they any marked features about their physiognomy.

Taifdars (Artizans) : All the Musalmans for all practical purposes are divided into two classes, Zamindars (agriculturists) and Taifdars (artizans). Taifdars include the market-gardeners, herdsmen, shepherds, boatmen, minstrels, leather workers and the menial servants of the villagers. No Zamindar would intermarry with a Taifdar. In this division are included some of the very important classes of Kashmir—Dums, Galawans, Batals (Watal) and Bhands.

...Galawans are the custodians of...and people call them horsekeepers, and I have given, elsewhere, an account of

these honourable horse-stealers. Violence and restlessness are engrained in their blood. Originally they eked out an existence by grazing ponies, but subsequently they found it more lucrative to steal them. Eventually they became a criminal tribe. During the Sikh rule (1819-46) they proved a terror to the people. Khaira Galawan, the legendary hero of these robbers, was killed by the Sikh Governor, Mian Singh. Gulab Singh, the founder of the modern State hunted down the tribe and transported many of them of Bunji. But they still hold a recognised position in the valley and some of them are owners of hundreds of Kashmiri ponies in addition to their being the guardians of thousands.

Batals or Watals are, to all practical purposes, the gipsies of Kashmir, with a patois of their own. But since they carry on a number of professions, principally tanning or leather-making, they come in for mention. they are divided into two classes—higher and lower. The one class do not eat carrion and are also admitted into the Musalman religion. The other class eat dead animals and find on place in the Musalman community. It is due to the Kashmiri Musalmans, being descended from exclusive Hindus, that they too like their original ancestors shut out certain untouchable classes from their Church ! The vitality of Hindu unprogressive principles is so lasting, though so fatal to itself.

Not unlike their prototypes all the world over, these Kashmiri gipsies too are practically a nomad, wandering tribe. Pardon me if I call them omnipresent. For I have met them down in the valley and up in the mountain as that of Pahalgam. Some times they settle on the outskirts of villages, sometimes they are found in their own colonies on the slopes of low hills, in mud huts with flat roofs and one hole to enter in. But they do not stay long at one place; they move on soon after. Their chief occupations is manufacture of leather. The higher class makes boats and sandals. The lower class carries on a very precarious trade....

...Their chief caste names (Krams) are Dange, Dar, and Mal. But they have another classification which depends on

the trades they carry on. It is as follows :

(1) Bemb Hanz are half-amphibious paddlers of Dal Lake. They in reality are mere gardeners, who grow vegetables on the lake.

(2) Gari Hanz, of Water lake, gather sugar nuts, singara, from the Water.

(3) Men of the Barges carry cargoes of up to 800 maunds in their barges from one part of the country to another.

(4) Dung Hanz keep Dongas in which they carry about the passengers by paddling their boats.

(5) Gad Hanz indulge in fishing and surpass even the Dung class in power of invectives.

(6) Hak Hanz eke out their living by collecting chips of drift wood in the rivers.

From out of these six classes or types of Hanzis is general, and from the fourth class—the Dung Hanz—in particular, has sprung the most disreputable class of boatman who come in contact with the tourists. I have described them at length in a previous article.

These boatman like the Irish driver and Indian barber are great tale-tellers. Quaint and scandalous stories ooze out from their fertile and well-watered imagination.

Nangars are the village artizans and craftsmen. They also include village menial servants such as barbers, bakers, butchers, washermen, oil-men, milk-men, snuff-makers, cotton-cleaners and carriers. But the chief artisans and craftsmen which come under this heading are carpenters, masons, potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, tailors and dyers. These artizans, the nangars, are a most important feature of the village polity and occupy a distinct position, but unfortunately their name literally means a village menial servant....

Metal engraving, wood carving, papier mache and smithy has a great future...the State is actuated by generous...it can foster an artistic atmosphere...these crafts which would bid fare to produce real works of art even in this age of vulgarisation

and vandalism. Embroidery is hopelessly decayed now. But the above-mentioned arts have yet a chance of regaining their lost glory and thus perpetuating the fame of old Kashmir.

Now a question arises, how did this secluded valley happen to have in its womb so many sorts of artizans ? Why should it be the lot of Kashmir to boast of the best shawls in the world, the best metal engraving, the best wood carving and the best papier mache ? Its genesis lies in the hoary past, int he 8th century of the Christian era, when a benign warrior artist ruler, Lalitaditya (Muktapira) ruled over this happy valley, the heaven on earth. He invaded central Asian Kings and King Yasovarman of Kanauj. Twelve years did he spend in the conquest or ravaging of Central Asia and Northern India. And as the spoils of his conquests he brought with him samples of art and makers of art—the artizans of Central Asia and the Indian plains. He employed carpenters and masons in the building of the magnificent new capital Paraspur or (Parihaspur) and in the making of the world-renowned temple of Martand, now in ruins. He had friendly relations with China—some say he received investiture from Chinese Emperor (733). Anyhow it is more than probable that he imported artizans from China too. Some of his successors—both worthy and unworthy—also fostered and encouraged arts in Kashmir. Then from the thirteenth century began the Musalman invasions which also brought in its wake arts of Tartary and Persia. True, most of the Musalman invaders and rulers were iconoclasts, but their vandalism demolished only temples : otherwise they were patrons of art and added to the race of Kashmiri artizans the new blood and brains of Persian and Tartar artists.

The art of Kashmir has thus come down to us enriched with the accumulated skill of diverse races, and only the patronage of the State and enlightened support of the public will enable it to regain its decaying glory. Will the successors of Lalitaditya prove worthy of a King who added to the glory of nature the glory of the art of man ?

(*Mukandi Lal*)

2

Food and Habits

Food and drink, dress and ornaments, games and pastimes, luxury and amusements and many other objects of our day-today life, are, in a way, expressions of our mental culture, though we may not be conscious of the fact. The ideas and ideals, thoughts and conceptions, meditations and relections of any people of a particular territory and period are not confined only within their religions and fine arts, literature and sciences, but are expressed in every sphere of life, and in all its activities. Hence the cultural survey of a nation can not be complete on a consideration of its religion, literature and art alone; the practical side of the daily life, which is no less an expression of the nation's intellectual refinedness, must also be taken into consideration.

We have not enough materials in our possession, with the help of which a detailed and connected account of the life of the people in early Kashmir may be sketched. But many isolated events, bearing on the everyday life, are scattered in the isolated literature of the valley. A few informations can be gleaned from the archaeological remains as well. A somewhat connected account regarding the day-to-day life of early Kashmir may be formed by weaving these scattered threads into a single texture.

Food and drink

Rice was the staple food of Kashmir. *Dhanya* (rice-crop)

and a particular class of it called *sali* have often been mentioned in the literary works. The *Rajatarangini* points out that the scarcity of rice invariably resulted in disastrous famine. This clearly proves that rice was the principal food of the people. Of various preparations made from rice, boiled-rice, rice mixed with sugar and sugar-cane, cakes of rice and meal of dried rice have often been referred to in the *Nilamatapurana*.

Besides rice, barley (*java*) seems to have formed another important item of food. A particular day of the year was observed as a festival, when the barley became ripe in the field. *Apupa* and *pistaka* (bread and cake) were made from barley.

Pulses too were in use. Damodaragupta in this *Kuttanimata Kavya* speaks of three kinds of pulses, *kulattha, cana* and *masura*. Ksemendra mentions fourth variety, called *mudga*. Rice and pulses, cooked jointly was known as *khiccari*. This was taken, especially on religious occasions. Another kind of food prepared from pulses was the *parpata* or *papara*.

The nature of vegetable food-stuffs and fruits can be ascertained to some extent from literary sources. The *Rajatarangini* mentions a kind of wild-growing herb of bitter taste called *utpalasaka* which was generally taken by the common people. The herb, now known as *upthak*, grows abundantly on the mountain slopes of Kashmir and forms one of the commonest vegetables of the Kashmir cuisine. Another edible vegetable was *kacchaguccha*, a form of grass. It is now known as *kacdan* and grows in abundance in the meadows of the Valley. A third one *sanda* is modern *hand*, which grows all over the valley and is appreciated for its medical properties. By nature, Kashmir is abundantly rich in fruit. Hiuen Tsang's account seems to show that the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot and the grape were the principal fruit products of the valley in the seventh century A.D. The grape was particularly considered as the fruit par excellence. Onion was regarded as a nutritious vegetable food. Garlic, though popular was a taboo to certain orthodox sections.

Milk undoubtedly comprised one of the principal diets.

Milk of cows and probably also of buffaloes was consumed. Various preparations of milk such as ghee (*ghrta*), butter (*sarpi*), condensed milk (*ksira*) and curd (*dadhi*) were known. Honey (*maksika*) and sugar (*sarkara*) were used to sweeten food. The juice of the sugar-cane is compared with nectar by Kalhana and the white sugar, produced from it, was a delicacy.

Salt was a precious article and if Ksemendra is to be believed, it was consumed by the rich alone. Among the spices which were used with food, mention may be made of black-pepper, ginger (*maricadraka*) and assafoetida (*hinga*).

Meat was one of the most important articles of diet. The *Nilamatapurana* prescribes it on some of the festival days. The fowl and the ram (*kukkuta* and *mesa*) and perhaps also the goat served the dishes. Various edible birds too were massacred. In the eleventh century A.D., eating of domesticated pigs (*gramyasukara*) might have been a fashion among a section of the people. The eating of the meat of the pigeon as well as that of the cow though not unknown, was normally looked with disapproval. Marco Polo (thirteenth century A.D.) informs that the food of the people of the Valley was flesh, with rice and other grains. Meat was generally fried and sometimes highly spiced.

Fish was also taken and fish-juice (*matsyayusa* or *matsyasupa*) was considered to be a particularly strength-giving tonic food. *Pathina,* a kind of shad fish, was much esteemed as food.

Drinking of wine seems to have been quite popular. In Kalhana's Chronicle a large number of persons are met with who are addicted to drinking. The drinking of wine, far from being forbidden, has been specially recommended on ceremonial occasions in the Kashmirian *Purana.* Juices from grape and sugar-cane, both of which grew in the valley, were distilled into spirituous liquors. The wine, cooled and perfumed with flowers, was appreciated as a delicious drink. Of drinks other than alcholic Kalhana mentions a kind of cold sweet drink (*tuhina sarkaram*) which was taken with great delight in hot summer days.

The average Kashmirian was very fond of betel-leaves (*parna* or *tambula*). Damodargupta, Ksemendra and Kalhana often refer to chewing of betel-leaves and betel-nuts, sometimes with well-mixed lime. The rich people used to engage betel-bearers who could constantly supply them prepared betel-leaves on asking. Kalhana also refers to the habit of chewing of *patasa,* a sort of camphor.

Dress and ornaments

As regards the dress and ornaments of early inhabitants of Kashmir, we have literary as well as archaeological evidence. The costume of the male population consisted of a lower garment (*adhararamsuka*), an upper garment (*angaraksaka*), and turban *sirabsata*). In the battle-field, leather strap was used for guarding loins. Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmir during the years 632-635. He writes that the climate of Kashmir was cold and stern and so 'the people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen. The low temperature of the valley, particularly at the time of winter, must have compelled the people to employ woollen garments to cover their body. In one of the passages of the *Rajatarangini,* Kalhana refers to the use of woollen blankets (*kutba*) and in another of warm cloaks (*pravara*). But the Chronicler points out that fine woollen blankets (forerunner of later Kashmir shawls ?) where allotted for the rich urban people only. The plebeians of modest means probably had to satisfy their wants with cheaper woollen goods such as the skins of black antelopes (*krsnajina*) and coarse wollen cloaks (*shulakambala*) which again were sometimes distributed to them by charitable persons.

It was a fashion to keep rather long hairs to which combs were attached. Sometimes, tassels of varied colours were joined with the hairs. KIngs and nobles also braided their hair in various styles. While the commoner used ordinary *sirabsata* to cover their head, the aristocrats decorated themselves in various manners. While describing an affluent person, Damodaragupta says that three-fourth of his head was covered with a piece of cloth. Kalhana speaks of a musical soiree in the royal court which looked resplendant by the white head-dress of the

princes and nobles. The diadem of king Harsa, according to him was fixed to a broad turban.

The men used different kinds of ornaments which were not very unlike to those of women. In his *Kuttanimata* Damodaragupta describes the son of an officer in king's service who wears rings in his fingers, fine gold necklaces and two types of ear-rings, one of which is called *dalabitaka* and the other *sisapatraka*. Another wealthy man is said to wear necklace, armlet and wristlet made of golden and coral beads. Ksemendra observes a merchant's son putting on great gold rings heavy with pearls hanging from ears and a golden amulet shining in the midst of the jewellery about his neck. He has on his feet carefully fitted silver anklets with large olives carved from lapis-lazuli. Damodaragupta records the dress of an attendant who has got in his neck coarse and cheap *kacavartakamala* and conchshell in his hands. According to Kalhana's evidence too, the male population of Kashmir used ornaments. These consisted chiefly of finger-rings, necklaces and bracelets. Men wore shoes which were made of leather. Sometimes the shoes had steel-made soles and floral decorations outside. Ksemendra refers to a particular kind of footwear called peacock-shoe (*mayuropanat*) which was a fashion of his day. The use of wooden sandals was also in vogue. A cane-stick in the hand and a dagger or sword at the waist were other accessories. A dagger at the waist can be seen in the Visnu images of the Utpala period. No doubt it records the fashion of the period. For beautifying them the fashionable persons used to apply *kumkuma* on the hair, *angaraga* on body, white mustard on forehead and saffron pomade on beard.

The dress of a woman was composed mainly of sari and jackets. During the reign of Harsa, fashionable ladies dressed themselves in jackets which covered but half the length of their arms and wore long lower garments, the tail end of which touched the floor. Sometimes a veil was used to cover the face.

The women of early Kashmir were not wanting in their eternal fondness for ornaments. Among the various kinds of

jewelleries worn by the ladies of his native land, Kalhana mentions anklets (*nupura*), bracelets (*paribarya*) and earrings (*kundala*). Ksemendra speaks of collars made of pearls and Damodaragupta of pearl-necklaces (*muktabara*). A special type of armlet called *valayakalapi* and ear-ring called *kanakanadi* have been referred to in *Kuttanimata Kavya*. *Valayakalapi* was a sort of armlet having the face of a peacock and moonshaped end. *Kanakanadi* seems to be palmshaped small ear-drop. In the eleventh century, king Harsa introduced several new type of jewelleries. These were golden ketakaleafed tiaras (*svarnaketakapatranka*) pendants on forehead (*tilaka*) and golden strings at the end of locks (*kesantavaddba bemopavitaka*).

The ladies used camphor, sandal and saffron to toilet and perfume the body, scented cheeks with leaves soaked in musk, reddened the feet and lips with lac and applied collyrium in the eyes. The married women decorated their foreheads with painted marks. Sometimes these beauty-marks were made with camphor. The ways of dressing the hair were various. Coiffures were decorated with flowers. Sometimes flowers were also bound with locks.

Some idea regarding the costumes and ornaments of early Kashmir of a period prior to the one known from literary sources may be had from a study of the sculptures and terracottas. One of the brick tiles of Harwan depicts a lady carrying a flower vase. She wears transparent robe, a kind of close fitting turban and large ear-ring. Another tile shows female-dancer wearing loose robes and trousers while a third one gives the picture of a female musician who also dresses herself in trousers. Some of the male figures of Harwan are dressed in lose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The costumes of Harwan undoubtedly show in them the influence of Central Asian dress. The exact period when the people used to dress themselves in Central Asian fashions can not be ascertained. It might have taken place in the early centuries of the Christian era. But the Central Asian tradition seems to have made its influence felt on the costumes of Kashmir and its adjoining regions for a long time and when Hiuen Tsang visited India in the middle of the seventh century A.D., he observed, 'in north

India, where the air is cold they (people) were short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people'.

One of the terracotta tiles of Harwan represents an armed horseman equipped fully with bow and arrow. The flying scarfs attached to his military uniforms may be identical with what Kalhana says *virapatta* or lapels of the military uniform.

Sculptural representations sometime confirm the conclusion that we derive from a study of the literary sources regarding the dress and ornaments of ancient Kashmir. Among the sculptural fragments recovered from Uskur, there is an upper arm encircled by a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with necklace. Another fore-arm has a bangle round the wrist. The wristlets that were in fashion in those days are illustrated by two other partly broken hands. A fragmentary left hand has a ring on the little finger which is deserving of notice. One of the sculptural figures of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara from Pandrethan, represents him heavily ornamented. Among the jewelleries worn by him one may easily note a three-peaked diadem, an elaborately jewelled necklace, a heavy jewelled wristlet, and a jewelled girdle fastening the dhoti. The ornaments must have been taken from real life. One of the Visnu images of Avantipura is crowned with elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara. It is probable that similar crescented crowns were worn by the kings of the Valley. 'Ananta's diadem', says Kalhana, 'was adorned with five resplendant crescents'.

Games and amusements

Dice and chess were the favourite indoor games of the people. Dice-playing has been referred to in several passages of the *Rajatarangini*. Alberuni in his account on India has left a detailed description of the mode of chess playing which was very popular in the northern provinces of India in the eleventh century A.D. Gambling, though in vogue, was regarded as a reprehensible pastime. The game, however, has been prescribed in the *Nitamatapurana*, to be played particularly on the darker fifteenth of the *Kartika*.

Kandukakrida had been one of the most favourite games

of ancient India. Its prevalence in early Kashmir is testified to by Damodaragupta's evidence. Among other outdoor games, hunting was a popular one. A terracotta tile from Harwan depicts a hunter on horseback chasing a deer. There can be no doubt that the picture was taken from real life. Kalhana gives vivid description of kings engaged in hunting accompanied by dogs, bands of Dombas and jungle. Jackal hunting was particularly popular.

Dancing and singing, as well as theatrical performances, were widely appreciated. A tile from Harwan represents a female musician playing on a drum. Another depicts a dancer in actual dancing posture. Damodaragupta refers to the playing of *vina* as an artistic pastime. The *Nilamatapurana* lays down that *gita, nrlyt* and *vadya* were to take place in some of the religious festivities. Bilhana extols the women of his native land for their cleverness in acting. If Kalhana is to be believed, many of the kings of the valley were lovers of dancing and music and musical plays regularly took place in the illuminated assembly-halls of the royal palace. One of the monarchs, Harsa, not only enjoyed dances and songs, but also taught in person the dancing girls, how to act. Damodaragupta mentions about the performance of the play of *Ratnavali* at his time. The reference is, evidently to the work of Sri Harsa. Literary evidence testifies to the existence of the institution of *devadasi* in early Kashmir. Dancing and music must have been cultivated by them as well as by ordinary harlots.

Bharata's *Natyasastra* was held in high honour and according to an authority was one of the approved texts of studies. Kalhana also was aware of the precepts of Bharata on dancing and singing. It is highly probable that many of the dancing performances of early Kashmir were strictly in adherence to the school of Bharata.

Another interesting item of amusement was puppet-play. A writer of the ninth century refers to wooden-dolls (*darumayiva pratima*) which were made to dance with the help of a mechanical thread (*yantrasutra*).

According to Damodaragupta, there were luxurious theatre

halls in his native valley, fitted with leather, cushioned couches. But these luxury-houses were probably meant for the rich alone. A passage of the *Rajatarangini* tends to show that common people had to witness theatrical performances under an open sky, when caught by a downpour, they had to disperse in all directions.

Conveyances

The conveyances consisted of horse, carriages, boats, elephants and palanquins. When Hiuen Tsang entered the Valley, he was received at the outer end of Pass by the maternal uncle of the king who had been sent with horse and carriages to escort the pilgrim to the capital. A perusal of the Chronicle of Kalhana leaves no room for doubt that the horse was an important conveyance and the poet-historian often refers to the march of mounted troops (*asuavara*). The elephant appears on the tiles of Harwan. Kalhana too refers to the stables of elephants. It may be presumed that the elephant was used as an aristocratic conveyance. Camels were preferably employed for carrying on heavy loads.

While speaking of the conveyances which were in vogue in contemporary Kashmir, Alberuni remarks, 'The inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palanquins called *katt*, carried on the shoulders of men'. That litters (*karniratha*) were used by the aristocrats receives confirmation from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. But the first part of the Muslim savant's satement that the inhabitants of Kashmir had no riding animals can hardly be accepted.

From earliest times, the river Vitasta formed the most important highway of Kashmir. The important towns of the valley were mostly situated on its banks and boat must have been needed to carry on internal trade and traffic. The *Rajatarangini* frequently refers to them as means of travel in the valley. The busy 'coming and going of ships' was also connected in the mind of Kalhana with the splendour of a large town.

Kashmir is an old country predominantly inhabited by people by people of the Aryan race. While tracing the history of this land from the earliest periods we learn about the ways and habits of the people produced by this beautiful land during different epochs, some of whom were men of high order who steered the nation towards progress and prosperity and thus spent their lives in the service of their country.

Kashmir was the meeting place of scholars and savants hailing from various parts of Asia. The valley was dotted with Ashrams and Viharas which were the hub of literary and scholastic activities. Mention may be made of Shadarbatvana or modern Harwan which was a Vihara associated with the name of the great Buddhist savant who was a leading exponent of Mahayana Buddhism. Both Hindu and Buddhist scholars participated in the religious discussions here. Now the monastry is in ruins and the only terra-cota tiles are left to speak through mute eloquence of Kashmir's past glory.

Kashmiris have all along manifested certain features in their national character which have been referred to in their observations by different travellers to .the valley. Sir Walter Lawrence for example, writes, 'Kashmiris possess an individuality and national character which will cling to them wherever they go'. According to the historian Kalhan Pandit they were in ancient times great fighters in the field. Nor is this all. They from time to time resorted to non-violent measures which were not heard of outside Kashmir to press for their rights and demands. For instance a widow resorted to hunger strike in front of the royal court to have an inquiry instituted into her husband's death. In protest of 'begar' which was imposed on them, the Kashmir Brahmans resorted to hunger strike and got this inhuman practice abolished.

That Kashmiris were great artisans and builders is too well known. Some of the architectural monuments like the Martand temple are the specimens of their ancient arts and crafts are a testimony to the artistic genius and capabilities of the Kashmiris. To quote Lawrence again : 'The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments

of India, as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art.'

The people of Kashmir are by nature peace-loving, god-fearing, sweet, gentle and of an artistic bent of mind. This can be testified by the accounts and observations left by the travellers and other observers from time to time. They are handsome, well-built, tall and manifest all the characteristics of pure Aryan blood. The hard and abnormal times through which Kashmir has passed in the past has made the people somewhat cringing in their behaviour. Subjection to foreign rule brought them face to face with acute economic distress. Their minds were disturbed and their hearts knew no peace. The tyrannical rule of brutal conquerers was intolerable. The development of the people under such circumstances remained hampered. The eternal influences, both good and bad, left their impress on the thought pattern of its inhabitants and foreign invasions left adverse effects on their character, producing strange angularities in it.

The development of body and mind of a people depends upon the environment in which they are bread and brought up and it, therefore, varies with different strata of society. In the past aristocratic families had every kind of facility to educate their children so that they could preserve their position of vantage and dominate the rest of the population. But to the poor such facilities were denied and they, therefore, failed to bring up their children on the same standard. This state of affairs helped to perpetuates class division and thus impeded the progress of the country as a whole.

The limited number of educational institutions which then existed could not prove useful to the masses. Their circumstances prevented them from taking advantage of such institutions with the result that the majority of the people remained illiterate so much so that gap then left between them and the literate has not been filled up to this day and it may take several decades more to banish mass illiteracy from the country. Now the education is extensive and colleges, medical, technical and of fine arts have spread throughout the valley.

The Women

Kashmir, besides its natural beauty, is also renowned for its beautiful women whose dark lotus eyes, rosy cheeks, long hair, clear cut features and cypress stature have impressed many a foreign observer. Among other things one will find them ideally modest, gentle, sweet and shy. It is really thrilling experience to see a beautiful Kashmiri woman in the lap of the nature under the radiant rays of the sun or the soothing beams of the moon or even under the transparent shadows of the clouds. The fabulous beauty of Kashmiri women has been sung by many a traveller to the country. For instance, Marco Polo observed that the beauty of Kashmiri women was superb.

The chequered history of Kashmir presents examples of women who have distinguished themselves in various fields in its different epochs. A long list of such prominent women who rose to the occasion at critical junctures can be prepared and this will show that the women of Kashmir have been brave and enterprising. They had the capacity to hold the highest offices of state and did not lack opportunities to distinguish themselves as administrators and leaders. Guided by their natural intelligence they could tackle the most difficult problems very efficiently. Although education among the fair sex was not as common as we find it today yet there have been scholars and poets among the women of Kashmir who made a mark in the domain of poetry and song. History also bears witness to the fact that the women of Kashmir left a great impress on the people of other nationalities who chanced to stay in this beautiful land.

It was never thought proper to keep the women folk ignorant and illiterate, but the type of education that would suit them and the result thereof would always be considered. The desired object was to educate boys and girls on equal levels, but various factors in the social and economic set up stood in the way. Today however the tide has turned and we see quite a new picture. Educational institutions have been opened in almost every corner of the state for the benefit of the people and scholarships have been provided to attract the

masses to the institutions and to create interest among them for letters and learning. The fair sex are taking full advantage of such institutions so much so that we find many girl students going in for higher studies and research outside the state. Among the subjects studied by Kashmiri women domestic science, music and education occupy a prominent position. The fact that Kashmiri women are eager to educate themselves holds out the promise of the early liquidation of illiteracy in the land for when we educate a male we educate a single individual but when we educate a female we bring enlightenment to a whole family.

In society Kashmiri women have a high place. They have high sense of responsibility and cheer up their men folk if and when they are disturbed in mind. Like women elsewhere they have a weakness for fancy dresses and ornaments to adorn themselves to the best advantage.

The oldest lady in the house administers all its affairs. She looks to the interests of every individual and is a good housewife. Under such circumstances the joint family system which is still predominant here runs smoothly. Women among the agricultural classes share with their menfolk a great part of labour in the fields and thus help effectively to improve the economic conditions of their families. A strong-willed woman often wields dictatorial power and by disciplining the home properly she lays a sure foundation for its future stability and progress.

A great new day of hope is dawning for the women of Kashmir when we all shall see them happy and prosperous, when, in fact, we shall see the nation prosperous, the happiness and contentment of women is the only sure guarantee for the advancement of the nation.

Kashmir is an agricultural country and the majority of the people are occupied with work on farms and fields. A small section however, turns to Government employment or business or to Arts and Crafts. The great skill of the Kashmiri as a craftsman is acknowledged on all hands and the beauty and excellence of his workmanship are justly famous all over the world.

A Kashmiri takes keen interest in educating his children. In many cases the people have helped the Government in constructing school buildings at the public initiative which naturally helped their own children in getting education.

3

Rivers and Towns

Indus (Sanskrit, *Sindbu;* Greek, *Sintbos;* Latin, *Sindus*).—The great river of North-Western India, which rises in Tibet, and then flows through Kashmir, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab, and after a final course through Sind falls into the Arabian Sea in 23° 58¢ N. and 67° 30¢ E. The drainage basin of the Indus is estimated at 372,700 square miles, and its total length at a little over 1,800 miles. The towns of importance on or near its banks in British territory are, beginning from the south : Karachi, Kotri, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Sukkur, Rohri, Mithankot, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Mianwali, Kalabagh, Khushalgarh, and Attock.

The first section of the course of the Indus lies outside British territory, and must be briefly dealt with here. The river rises, as above stated, in Tibet (32° N. and 81° E.), behind the great mountain wall of the Himalayas, which forms the northern boundary of India; it is said to spring from the north side of the sacred Kailas mountain (22,000 feet), the Elysium of ancient Sanskrit literature. Issuing from the ring of lofty mountains about Lake Manasarowar, where also the Sutlej, the Brahmaputra, and the Kauriala have their rise, it flows north-west for about 160 miles under the name of Singh ka-bab, until it receives the Ghar river on its south-western bank. A short distance below the junction of the Ghar, the river, which is supposed to have

an elevation of 17,000 feet at its source, enters the south-eastern corner of Kashmir at an elvation of 13,800 feet, flowing slowly over a long flat of alluvium. Following a steady north-by-west course, it skirts Leh at a height of 10,500 feet and drops to 8,000 feet in Baltistan, just before it receives the waters of the Shyok river. At Leh it is joined by the Zaskar river, and is crossed by the great trade route into Central Asia via the Karakoram Pass. Early travellers, like Dr. Thomson and Mr. Blane, have described this portion of the Indus. The former found numerous hot springs, some of them with a temperature of 174° and exhaling a sulphurous gas. Still flowing north, but more westerly, through Kashmir territory, it passes near Skardu in Baltistan, and reaches the Haramosh mountain (24,300 feet) in about 34° 50¢ N. and 74° 30¢ E. Here it takes a turn southwards at an acute angle, and passing beneath the Hattu Pir, at an elevation of 4,000 feet, enters Kohistan in the Dir, Swat, and Chitral Agency near Gur. The steepness of its fall varies, now becoming greater, now less. This inequality of slope has been connected with the changes that occurred in the glacial period from the damming of the river by great glaciers and the formation of great thicknesses of lacustrine deposit. The Indus has been the cause of serious and disastrous floods; the rapid stream dashes down gorges and wild mountain valleys, and in its lower and more level course it is swept by terrific blasts. Even in summer, when it is said to dwindle down to a fordable depth during the night, it may during the course of the day swell into an impassable torrent from the melting of the snows on the adjoining heights. Opposite Skardo in Baltistan it is, even in the depth of winter, a grand stream, often more than 500 feet wide and 9 to 10 feet in depth. After leaving Gur, it flows for about 120 miles south-west through the wilds of Kohistan, until it enters the North-West Frontier Province (35° 25¢ N. and 73° 51¢ E.), near Darband, at the western base of the Mahaban mountain. The only point to which special allusion can be made in the long section of its course beyond British territory is the wonderful gorge by which the river bursts through the western ranges of the Himalayas. This gorge is near Skardo, and is said to be 14,000

feet in sheer descent.

The Indus, on entering the Hazara District of the North-West Frontier Province, 812 miles from its source, is about 100 yards wide in August, navigable by rafts, but of no great depth, and studded with sandbanks and islands. It is fordable in many places during the cold season; but floods or freshes are sudden, and Ranjit Singh is said to have lost a force, variously stated at from 1,200 to 7,000 horsemen, in crossing the river. Even the large and solid ferry-boats which ply upon it are sometimes swept away. Almost opposite Attock it receives the Kabul river, which brings down the waters of Afghanistan. The two rivers have about an equal volume, both are very swift, and broken up with rocks. Their junction during floods is the scene of a wild confusion of waters. The Kabul river is navigable for about 40 miles above the confluence, but a rapid just above it renders the Indus impracticable. Attock, the limit of the upward navigation, forms the first important point on the river within British territory. By this time it has flowed upwards of 860 miles, or nearly one-half of its total length, its further course to the sea being about 940 miles. It has fallen from its elevation of 17,000 feet at its source in Tibet to about 2,000 feet, the height of Attock being 2,079 feet. In the hot season, opposite the fort, its velocity is 13 miles an hour; and in the cold season, 5 to 7 miles. The rise of ordinary floods is from 5 to 7 feet in twenty-four hours only, and the maximum is 50 feet above cold-season level. Its width varies greatly with the season—at one time being more than 250 yards, at another less than 100. The Indus is crossed at Attock by the railway bridge opened in 1883, a bridge of boats, and a ferry. The main trunk road to Peshawar also crosses the river by a subway on the railway bridge.

After leaving Attock, the Indus flows almost due south, forming the western boundary of the Punjab, parallel to the Sulaiman Hills. The great north road from Sind to Bannu runs for several hundred miles parallel with its western bank; and from Mahmud Kot to Attock the Sind-Sagar, Mari, and Mari-Attock branches of the North-Western Railway run along its eastern bank. Twelve miles below Attock the Indus receives

the waters of the Haroh, a rapid stream which, rising in the Murree hills as the Dhand, meets the Karral coming down from the Mochpuri peak, and rushes through steep banks for a total course of 90 miles. At Makhad, the Sohan brings in all the drainage of Rawalpindi and Jhelum Districts that is not taken by the Jhelum river. The Indus forms the eastern border of the two frontier Districts of Dera Ismail Khan in the North-West Frontier Province and Dera Ghazi Khan in the Punjab, with the Sind-Sagar Doab on its eastern bank, and only a narrow strip of British territory between it and the hill tribes of the Sulaiman ranges on the west. Just above Mithankot, in the south of Dera Ghazi Khan District, it receives the accumulated waters of the Punjab. Between the Indus and the JUMNA flow the five great streams from which the Punjab (Punj-ab, literally 'The five waters') takes its name. These are the JHELUM, the CHENAR, the RAVI, the BEAS, and the SUTLEJ. After various junctions these unite to form the PANJNAD river, literally 'The five streams,' which marks for a short space the boundary between British territory and the Bahawalpur State, and unites with the Indus near Mithankot, about 490 miles from the sea. In the cold season the breadth of the Indus above the confluence is about 600 yards, its velocity 5 miles an hour, its depth from 12 to 15 feet, and its estimated discharge 10,000 to 25,000 cubic feet per second. During food-times the breadth sometimes increases to 5 miles, and the discharge to 1,000,000 cubic feet per second. The dimensions of the Panjnad above the point of junction are somewhat less than those of the Indus during the cold season, but during the monsoon floods they are almost as large as the Indus. The whole course of the Indus through the Punjab is broken by islands and sandbanks, but beautiful scenery is afforded along its banks, which abound with the date, acacia, pomegranate, and other trees.

Mithankot has an elevation of only 258 feet above the level of the sea. From Mithankot the Indus forms the boundary between the Punjab and the Bahawalpur State, until, near Kashmor, it enters Sind in 28° 26¢ N. and 69° 47¢ E. From Bukkur (in Sind) to the sea the river is known familiarly among the Sindis as the 'Darya' (the river). Pliny writes of

Indus incolis Sindus appellatus. It first touches Sind close to Kashmor town in the Upper Sind Frontier District, separating it from the Bahawalpur State and Sukkur District. Formerly in years of high inundation its floods reached Jacobabad, finding their way thence into the Manchhar Lake. To prevent this, the Kashmor embankment, which is the largest in Sind, was erected. Leaving Kashmor the river crosses Sukkur District, divides Larkana and Karachi from the Khairpur State and Hyderabad District, finally emptying itself by many mouths into the Arabian Sea near Karachi, after a south-western course of 450 miles through Sind. It ranges in width from 480 to 1,600 yards, the average during the low season being 680 yards. During the floods it is in places more than a mile wide. Its depth varies from 4 to 24 feet. The water, derived from the snows of the Himalayas, is of a dirty brown colour, and slightly charged with saline ingredients, carbonate of soda, and nitrate of potash. Its velocity in the freshes average 8 miles per hour, at ordinary times 4 miles. The discharge per second varies between a minium of 19,000 and a maximum of 820,000 cubic feet. On an average the temperature of the water is 10° lower than that of the air. Near the station of Sukkur and again at Kotri the river is spanned by a fine railway bridge. The Sukkur bridge was opened in 1889, and resembles the Forth Bridge in having a central girder with a span of 200 feet, supported at the ends of two cantilever arms, each 310 feet long. The Indus begins to rise in March, attains its maximum depth and width in Augus, and subsides in September. The maximum rise registered at Kotri, near Hyderabad, was 22 feet 7 inches in 1894. There are many other gauges on the river.

The delta of the Indus covers an area of about 3,000 square miles, and extends along the coast-line for 125 miles. It is almost a perfect level, and nearly destitute of timber, the tamarisk and mangrove alone supplying fuel. In these respects the delta is similar to that of the Nile, but dissimilar from the Ganges delta. The marshy portions contain good pasturage, and rice grows luxuriantly wherever cultivation is possible; but the soil generally is not fertile, being a mixture of sand and clay. In the Shahbandar *taluka* are immense deposits of salt.

The climate of the delta is cood and bracing in the winter months, hot in the summer, and during the floods most unhealthy.

Jhelum (*Jehlam*).—River in Kashmir and the Punjab, being the most westerly of the rive rivers from which the Punjab derives its name. It was known to the Muhammadan historians as the Bihat, Wihat or Bihatab, corruptions of its Sanskrit name *Vitasta* (which Alexander's historians graecized into *Hydaspes*, but Ptolemy more correctly as *Bidaspes*), which its modern Kashmiri name is *Veth*. It may be said to have its source in a noble spring of deep-blue water, which issues from the bottom of a high scarp of a mountain spur. The spring is known as Vernag; and at Khanabal, 15 miles north, its waters join the streams of Adpat, Bring, and Sandran, and form the starting-point of navigation. The river is navigable without a single lock from Khanabal to Baramula, 102 miles. In its course to the Wular Lake, which may be regarded as a delta of the river, the fall is 165 feet in the first 30 miles and 55 feet in the next 24 miles. From the Wular Lake to Baramula the fall is very slight.

The Jhelum river has many tributaries. On its right bank its receives the Liddar or Lambodri, which comes down from the everlasting snows overhanging the head of the Liddar valley, and from the mountain lake of Tarsar. Below Srinagar at Shadipur—the place of the marriage of the two rivers—the Sind river joins the Jhelum, and beyond the Wular Lake the Pohru stream, which drains the Lolab valley, merges in the great river. On the left bank the chief tributaries are the Vishav, the Rembiara, the Ramshi, the Dudganga, the Suknag, and the Ferozepura. The Dudganga joins the Jhelum at the lower end of Srinagar city.

Below Baramula (5,000 feet) the placid Jhelum leaves the fertile banks of the valley, and rushes headlong down a deep gorge between lofty mountains of the Kazinag range on the north and an extension of the Pir Panjal on the south to Kohala, 2,000 feet. At Muzaffarabad the Kishanganga river joins the Jhelum on its right bank, while a few miles lower down,

and on the same side, the Kunbar river, which drains the Hazara country, adds no inconsiderable volume of water. Between Khanabal and Baramula there are many bridges, but between Baramula and Domel, where the Kishanganga river joins the Jhelum, the bridges are scarce and primitive. Much of the internal commerce of Kashmir depends on the Jhelum. An account of the various descriptions of boats used will be found in the article on SRINAGAR.

Below its junction with the Kishanganga the Jhelum forms the boundary between the Kashmir State and the British Districts of Hazara and Rawalpindi, flowing in a narrow rocky bed, shut in by mountains on either side. Numerous rapids here render navigation impossible, though large quantities of timber are floated down from Kashmir. A handsome suspension bridge at Kohala, in Rawalpindi District, connects Kashmir with British territory. Below Dangalli, 40 miles east of Rawalpindi, the Jhelum becomes navigable. Passing into Jhelum District, it skirts the outlying spurs of the Salt Range, receiving the waters of the Kahan, and finally debouches upon the plains a little above the town of Jhelum, about 250 miles from its source. Below Jhelum, inundation of the lowlands begins to be possible, and sandy islands stud the wide bed of the stream. The Bunha, in the rains a roaring torrent which sometimes spreads over a mile of country, joins the Jhelum from Gujrat and Shahpur, it enters the latter District entirely, and trends thenceforth more directly southward. The width in this portion of its course average 800 yards in flood, dwindling during he winter months to less than half that size. Sudden freshes occur after heavy rains, and cause frequent inundation over the lowlands, greatly increasing the productive power of the soil. The Jhelum next enters the District of Jhang, where it preserves the same general characteristics, but with a wider valley, bounded by the high uplands known as the Bar. It finally joins the Chenab at Trimmu, in 31° 11¢ N. and 72° 12¢ E., 10 miles to the south of Maghiana, after a total course of not less than 450 miles, of which about 200 lie within British territory. The current in the plains has an average rate of 4 miles per hour. The wedge of land between the Jhelum and the Chenab is known as the

Chaj Doab; while the tract stretching westward to the Indus bears the name of the Sind Sagar Doab.

The principal towns upon the Jhelum are Kashmir or Srinagar, Jhelum, Pind Dadan Khan, Miani, Bhera, and Khushab. According to General Cunningham, the point where Alexander crossed the Hydaspes may be identified with Jalalpur in Jhelum District; while nearly opposite, on thee Gujrat bank, stands the modern battle-field of Chilianwala. Other writers hold that the passage was effected near Jhelum town. A bridge of boats crosses the river at Khushab. The permanent railway bridge of the North-Western Railway also crosses it at the town of Jhelum, and the Sind Sagar line at Haranpur. The LOWER JHELUM CANAL takes off at Mong Rasul in Gujrat District.

Chenab (the *Acesines* of the Greeks and *Asikni* of the Vedas).—River in Kashmir and the Punjab, being one of the five streams from which the latter Province derives its name. It rises in the Himalayan canton of Lahul in the Punjab in two streams : The Chandra which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of the Bara Lacha at a height of 16,221 feet, and the Bhaga which rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The Chandra, after flowing south-east for 55 miles, sweeps round the base of the mid-Himalayas and joins the Bhaga at Tandi, after a total course of 115 miles. The course of the Bhaga to Tandi is only 65 miles, its average fall being 125 feet per mile. The united stream, now known as the Chandra-Bhaga or Chenab, flows through the Pangi valley in the Chamba State and then enters the Padar district of Kashmir at an elevation of 6,000 feet. Thence for 180 miles it flows between steep cliffs of the high mountains, and then for 25 miles through the lower hills to Akhnur, where it becomes navigable. There are three remarkable bends in the Chenab. Where it reaches Kishtwar from a north-west course it suddenly twists due south; at Jangalwar it tacks from south to west; and at Arnas it leaves its westerly course and flows due south past Riasi to Akhnur. At each of these turns the Chenab is joined by streams of considerable size, and at every change of course the river seems to cut through the mountain range along which it had been flowing.

The chief tributaries in its passage through Kishtwar, Bhadrawar, and Jammu are the Uniar and Shudi, and the Bhutna and Maru Wardwan rivers. Between Kishtwar and Akhnur it receives the waters of the Golan Lar and Lidar Kol, and the Bichlari and Ans, and between Riasi and the western boundary of Jammu it is joined by the Tawi. There are several bridges, two of which on the routes from Jammu to Kashmir, and from Kashmir to Kishtwar respectively, are of a superior description. The rest are of the primitive *jhula* type—three ropes stretched across the stream in the form of a triangle.

The Chenab re-enters the Punjab at Khairi Rihal in Sialkot District. The Tawi joins it almost at once, and the first place of importance in British territory is Wazirabad, where the Alexandra Bridge carries the North-Western Railway across the river. Throughout its course in the plains the river flows in a wide and shifting bed of sand. A few miles south-west of Wazirabad the main branch of the Lower Chenab Canal takes off at Khanki; and thence the river flows on greatly diminished in bulk, dividing the Chaj Doab on the west from the Rechna Doab on the east until the Jhelum joins it in Jhang District at Trimmu. Thence the two rivers flow under the name of the Chenab, till joined by the Ravi near Sidhu and the Sutlej at Madwala. The North-Western Railway crosses it again at Sher Shah. Thence the united stream flows on under the name of the Pnajnad, to join the Indus at Mithankot. Small boats can navigate the Chenab in the plains all the year round, but there is little traffic above Chiniot.

There is evidence to show that the Chenab flowed to the east of Multan as late as A.D. 1245. The Beas then occupied its old bed passing Dipalpur; and the Jhelum, Chenab, and Ravi met north-east of Multan, and flowing to the east of that town joined the Beas 28 miles south of it and east of Uch. Thus Multan and Uch both lay in the Sind-Sagar Doab. By 1397 the Chenab had altered its course westward and was flowing to the west of Multan, as it still does. The part of the river which divides the modern District of Gujrat from Gujranwala was known to the Muhammadan historians as the Sudhara (SODHRA), from the town of that name on its left bank.

Wular Lake.—Lake in Kashmir State, lying between 34° 16¢ and 34° 26¢ N. and 74° 33¢ and 74° 42¢ E., at an elevation of 5,180 feet above sea-level. The lake has an area of 12½ square miles, but in years of flood, such as 1893, it may cover 103 square miles. The Wular has a bad reputation among the boatmen of Kashmir; for when the winds come down the mountain gorges, the quiet surface of the lake changes into a sea of rolling waves, most dangerous to the flat-bottomed craft of the country. The name is supposed to be a corruption of *Ullola,* Sanskrit for 'turbulent' or '[the lake] with high, going water.' The ancient name is Mahapadmasaras, derived from the Naga Mahapadma, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. The Bohnar, Madmati, and Erin streams flow into the lake from the high amphitheatre of mountains on the north, while from the south the Jhelum enters through marshes and peaty meadows. In the north-east corner is an island made by king Zain-ul-abidin as a storm refuge for boats, and on the western shore is the scarp of Watlab on which stands the celebrated shrine of Shukr-ud-din. The chief products of the lake are fish, wild-fowl, and the *singhara* nut.

Dal Lake.—Lake in Kashmir State, situated close to Srinagar, measuring about 4 miles by 2½, and one of the most beautiful spots in the world. The mountain ridges, which are reflected in its waters as in a mirror, are grand and varied, the trees and vegetation on the shores of the Dal being of exquisite beauty. In the spring the fresh green tints of the trees and the mountain sides are refreshing to the eye, but it is perhaps in October that the colours of the lake are most charming. The willows change from green to silver grey and delicate russet, with a red tone on the stems and branches, casting colours ont he clear water of the lake, which contrast most beautifully with the rich olives and yellow greens of the floating masses of water-weed. The *chinars* are warm with crimson, and the poplars stand up like golden poles to the sky. On the mountain sides the trees are red and gold, and the scene is one of unequalled loveliness. Looking towards the city from the lake the famous hill, the Takht-i-Sulaiman, stands on the left; and to the right the hill of Hari Parbat, with its picturesque fort full of

recollections of the grandeur of past times. Between these hills lies Srinagar, and away to the west are the snow-capped mountains of Kashmir. The Dal is clear, and the people say that the shawls of Kashmir owed much of their excellence to being washed in its soft waters. Nature has done much for the lake, but the Mughal emperors exerted themselves to enhance its natural beauties; and though the terraced gardens of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, with the prim rows of cypress through which formal cascades tumble down to the edge of the Dal, may not please the European landscape gardener, the magnificent planetrees which the great Mughals bequeathed to posterity have added a distinctive charm. The park of plane-trees known as the Nasim Bagh, 'the garden of breezes,' which was planted in Akbar's time, is the most beautiful of all. Nothing is perhaps more striking than the ruined Pari Mahal standing grandly on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain, which was built by Dara Shikoh for his tutor, Mulla Shah, whose tomb is at Mulshahi Bagh, near the entrace of the Sind valley. There are two small islands on the lake, known as the Sona Lanka or 'golden isle' and the Rupa Lanka or 'silver isle.' The original of the name Dal is uncertain. One authority states that the name signifies in the Kashmiri language 'lake,' and that there is a Tibetan word *Dal* which means 'still.' In the chronicle of Srivara the lake is called Dala. The cultivation on the lake is peculiar and interesting.

Ladakh.—The most westerly province of the high mountainous land spoken of as Tibet is called Ladakh or Ladag. It is now politically a division of the Kashmir State, lying between the Himalayas and the Kuenlun mountains, and between Baltistan and Chinese Tibet. The Karakoram range forms the northern boundary as far east as the Karakoram pass. The country is known to educated Tibetans by other names—Mangyal, Nearis, Maryul.

Ladakh is one of the most elevated regions of the earth, its sparse cultivation ranging from 9,000 to 14,000 feet. The scanty population is found in scattered and secluded valleys, where along the river banks and on alluvial plateaux crops are raised by irrigation. Central Ladakh, which lies in the Indus valley, is the most important division of the country. To the north in

Nubra, consisting of the valley of the Nubra river and a portion of the valley of the Shyok. The great floods of the Indus, caused by the descent of glaciers across its stream and that of the Shyok, and the consequent damming back of the Nubra river have caused great destruction to riverain lands, once cultivated but now wastes of granitic sand. Here the fields are fenced to guard the crops from the ponies of traders on their way to Yarkand. The south is the Rupshu country with its great lakes. Rupshu Lake covers an area of 60 to 70 square miles. Tsomoriri is 15 miles in length, and lies at an elevation of 14,900 feet. The lakes are land-locked and brackish. East of Central Ladakh is the lake of Pangkong, and in its neighbourhood crops of beardless barley and peas are raised at an elevation of 14,000 feet. South-west is the country of Zaskar, with a very severe climate chilled by the lofty snow ranges.

The flora of Ladakh is scanty, and timber and fuel are the most pressing wants of the people. The *burtse* (*Eurotia*) is a low-growing bush which gives a fair fuel, and in the high valleys the *dama*, a kind of furze, is burnt. On some hill-sides the pencil cedar (*padam*) occurs; and in occasional ravines the wild willow is found. Arboriculture used to be discountenanced under the Gialpos, on the ground that trees deprived the land of fertility.

On the plains up to 17,000 feet wild asses or *kiang* (*Equus hemionus*), antelope (*Panthbolops hodgsoni*), wild yak (*Bos Grunniens*), ibex (*Capra sibirica*), and several kinds of wild sheep (*Ovis hodgsoni, O. vignei,* and *O. nahura*) are found; and the higher hill slopes up to 19,000 feet contain hares and marmots, and the beautiful snow leopard (*Felis uncia*) and the lynx (*F. lynx*). Knight, in *Where Three Empires meet,* remarks :

> 'Not only man, but also all creatures under his domination—horses, sheep, goats, fowls—are diminutive here, whereas the wild animals on the high mountains are of gigantic size.'

Drew counted as many as 300 *kiang* in a day's march. In outward appearance the *kiang* is like a mule, brown in colour with white under the belly, a dark stripe down the back, but

no cross on the shoulder. One *kiang* shot by Drew was 54 inches in height. The flesh is rather like beef. They are common on the Changchenmo, and are met with in many parts of Ladakh, where their curiosity often disconcerts sportsmen by alarming game worth shooting. A curious fact ill the fauna of Ladakh is the absence of birds in the higher parts of the country. An occasional raven is the only bird to be seen.

The climate is very dry and healthy. Rainfall is extremely slight, but fine dry flaked snow is frequent, and sometimes the fall is heavy. There is a remarkable absence of thunder and lightning. The air is invigorating, and all travellers notice the extraordinary extremes of cold and heat. In Rupshu the thermometer falls as low as 9° in September. The minimum temperature of the month is 23.5°, and the mean temperature 43°. As Knight remarks :

> 'So thin and devoid of moisture is the atmosphere that the variations of temperature are extreme, and rocks exposed to the sun's rays may be too hot to lay the hand upon, at the same time that it is freezing in the shade. To be suffering from heat on one side of one's body, while painfully cold on the other, is no uncommon sensation here.'

The history of Ladakh, until its conquest by Raja Gulab Singh in the first half of the nineteenth century, is intimately connected with Tibet, with which country it still holds commercial and religious relations. Stories are told of invasions in the seventeenth century by the neighbouring Baltis, sometimes successful, sometimes repulsed. About the end of the seventeenth century the Ladakhis called in the aid of the governor of Kashmir to repel the Sokpos, a Mughal tribe. Help was promptly given, and the Sokpos were driven out of Ladakh, after which it paid tribute to Kashmir. Prior to annexation by the Dogras, the government of the country was a mild form of monarchy. The ruler was called Gialpo or king, but the real power rested with the minister of Kahlon. The only check on the latter was the widespread authority of the monasteries. The chief of these is Himis Gompa, on the left bank of the Indus, 18 miles

above Leh. This monastery, which contains 400 to 800 monks and nuns, stands at the head of a wild glen and covers a considerable space of ground. An important festival, called the Himis Tsheshu, is held annually on the tenth day of the fifth month (about June 7) when the whole country-side flock to the monastery and witness the weird devil-dance of the Buddhist Lamas. A constant spectator is the Gialpo of Ladakh. The monastery is believed to contain great wealth, and the treasure is kept under guard in order to prevent its being carried over the border to Lhasa. The chief shrine is faced entirely with silver plate. Its treasure-house has small vases filled with pearls, turquoises, and rubies, said to be of value.

Leh (population, 2,079) is the only place of importance in Ladakh, and there are besides 463 villages. With the exception of one village of Shiah Musalmans in Chhachkot, and of the Arguns or half-breeds, practically the whole population, excluding the town of Leh, is Buddhist. The people style themselves Bhots. According to the last Census, there are now 30,216 Buddhists living in Ladakh. They have the Mongolian cast of features, and are strong and well made, ugly, but cheerful and good-tempered. If they do quarrel over their barley beer (*chang*), no bad blood remains afterwards. They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim.

There are five main castes (*ribs*) : the Rgrial *riks,* or ryot caste; the Trangzey *riks,* or priestly caste; the Rjey *riks,* or high officials; the Hmang *riks,* or lower officials and agricultural classes; and the Tolbay *riks,* or artificers and musicians. This last caste, also known as Bem, is considered inferior.

The Ladakhis may be divided into the Champas or nomads, who follow pastoral pursuits on the upland valleys, too high for cultivation; and the Ladakhis proper, who have settled in the valley and the side valleys of the Indus, cultivating with great care every patch of cultivable ground. These two classes do not, as a rule, intermarry, and Champas rarely furnish recruits to the monasteries. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged

in agriculture, and in spite of the smallness of their holdings they are fairly prosperous. Their great wants are fuel and timber. For fuel they are cow-dung and the bush known as *burtse*. Their only timber trees are the scattered and scanty willows and poplars which grow along the watercourses.

There can be little doubt that the modest prosperity of the Ladakhis, in contrast to the universal poverty of Baltistan, is due to the practice of polyandry, which acts as a check on population. Whereas the Baltis, used to the extremes of temperature, are able to seek employment in hot countries, the Ladakhis would die if they were long away from their peculiar climate. In a family where there were many brothers, the younger ones could neither marry nor go abroad for their living. When the eldest son marries, he takes possession of the little estate, making some provision for his parents and unmarried sisters. The eldest son has to support the two brothers next him in age, who share his wife. The children of the marriage regard all three husbands as father. If there be more than two younger brothers, they must go out as Lamas to a monastery, or as coolies; or, if he be fortunate, a younger son can marry an heiress, and become a Magpa. (If there is no son in a family the daughter inherits, and can choose her own husband, and dismiss him at will with a small customary present. The Magpa husband is thus always on probation, as the heiress can discard him without any excuse or ceremony of divorce.) When the eldest dies or becomes a Lama, the next brother takes his place. But the wife, provided there are no children, can get rid of his brothers. She ties her finger by a thread to the finger of her deceased husband. The thread is broken, and she is divorced from the corpse and the surviving brothers. The woman in Ladakh has great liberty and power. She can, if she likes, add to the number of her husbands. Drew, who had a very intimate knowledge of Ladakh, thinks that polyandry has had a bad effect on the women, making them overbold and shameless. But others, who are equally entitled to form an opinion, consider this an unfair criticism.

In the town of Leh are many families of half-castes known as Arguns, the results of the union between Ladakhi women

and Kashmiris, Turki caravan-drivers, and Dogras. The Dogra children were known as Ghulamzadas, and were bondmen to the State. The half-castes of Leh are no more unsatisfactory in Tibet than elsewhere, and many travellers have testified to the good qualities of the Argun.

The monasteries (*Gompa*) play an important part in the life of the Ladakhis. Nearly every village has its monastery, generally built in a high place difficult of access. At the entrance are prayer cylinders, sometimes worked by water-power, and inside a courtyard is a lofty square chamber in which the images and instruments of worship are kept. No women may enter this chamber. Every large family sends one of its sons to the monastery as a Lama. He goes young as a pupil, and finishes his studies at Lhasa. In a monastery there are two head Lamas : one attends to spiritual, the other to temporal matters. The latter is known as the *Chagzot* or *Nupa*. He looks after the revenue of the lands which have been granted to the monastery, carries on a trade of barter with the people, and supervises the alms given by the villagers. He also enters into money-lending and grain transactions with the surrounding villages. Many monasteries receive subsidies from Lhasa. The Lamas wear a woollen gown dyed either red or yellow. The red Lamas predominate in Ladakh. The red sect known as Drukpas are not supposed to marry while in the priesthood. Nunneries are frequently found near the monasteries of both sects, but the *Chomos*, or nuns of the yellow sect, have a higher character than those of the red sisterhood. About a sixth of the population of Ladakh is absorbed in religious houses. The Lamas are popular in the country, are hospitable to travellers, and are always ready to help the villagers.

There are two missions at Leh—the Moravian and the Roman Catholic. The Moravian Mission is an old and excellent institution, much appreciated by the people for its charity and devotion in times of sickness. The mission has a little hospital, whither the Ladakhis, whose eyes suffer from the dustiness of the air and the confined life in the winter, flock in great numbers.

The soil is sandy, and requires careful manuring, and nothing can be raised without irrigation. The chief crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley, peas, rapeseed, and beans in the spring; buckwheat, millets, and turnips in the autumn. Lucerne grass is grown for fodder. The surface soil is frequently renovated by top-dressings of earth brought from the hill-sides, and it is a common practice to sprinkle earth on the snow in order to expedite its disappearance. Fruit and wood are scarce, except in villages situated on the lower reaches of the Indus.

Beardless barley (*grim*) is the most useful crop, and can be grown at very high elevations (15,000 feet). In the middle of Ladakh the crop is secure if there be sufficient water; and in the lower villages the soil is cropped twice a year, as there is ample sunshine; but in Zaskar, which is near the high snowy range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zaskar being famous. The food of the Ladakhis is the meal of *grim,* made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with butter-milk. The Ladakhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pallu* and *pashmina*.

The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skardu. Salt is largely exported to Skardu, and in a less degree to Kashmir, and is exchanged for grain; apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is

the Central Asian trade between Yarkand and India.

Ladakh is in the charge of a Wazir Wazarat, who is responsible for Baltistan and the three *tabsils* of Ladakh, Kargil, and Skardu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained; but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazir Wazarat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazir is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladakh is in the charge of a *kardar* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kardari* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kardari*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skardu and Leh.

The land revenue system in the past has been of a very arbitrary description, the basis of assessment being the holding or the house. The size of the holding or the quality of the soil receives little consideration. Taken collectively, it has perhaps not been heavy, though the rates are considerably higher than those now applied in Baltistan; but its incidence has been unfair, oppressive to the poor, and very easy to the rich. A redistribution of the old assessments on a more equitable principle, and a summary revision where the assessments were obviously too high or unnecessarily light, have recently been carried out by a British official lent to the State. The greater part of the revenue is paid in cash, but some is taken in grain and wood, which are necessary for the supply of the Central Asian traders. The grain is stored at convenient places on the caravan route in the charge of officials who sell to the traders. But for this system trade would be hampered; for after leaving

the Nubra valley and crossing the Karakoram range no fodder is available on the Yarkand road till Shahidullah in Chinese territory is reached, and grain for feeding animals must be carried from Nubra. The strain of forced labour is heavy in Ladakh. Not only is unpaid transport taken for political missions, assistance to the trade route, &c., but several monasteries are allowed to impress unpaid labour for trading purposes.

Agricultural advances, chiefly seed-grain, are made for the most part not by the State, but by the monasteries, and the poorer classes are heavily in debt to the religious institutions. These are not harsh creditors. When the debtor is hopelessly involved, the monastery takes possession of half of his land for a period of three years. If the debt is not liquidated within three years, the land is restored to the debtor and the debt written off. The monastery will never sue a debtor, nor is land ever permanently alienated for debt.

Baltistan.—A tract under the Wazir Wazarat of Ladakh, Kashmir, also known as Little Tibet, lying approximately between 34° and 36° N. and 75° and 77° E. It is bounded on the north by the Muztagh range and Nagar; on the east by Ladakh; on the south by Kashmir, Wardwan, and Zaskar; and on the west by Gilgit and Astor. The tract is situated in the midst of enormous mountain ranges with peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 feet, and one above 28,000 feet, and flaciers which are the largest known out of Polar regions. The villages cling to the river valleys, the most important of which are the Indus, the Shyok, and the Shigar, together with the Dras and Suru rivers which unite near Kargil, the Braldu and Bashar which join the Shigar, and the Hushe and Saltaro which join the Shyok just above Khapalu, one of the most fertile oases in Baltistan.

There are no forests of any size or value. *Deodars* and pines grow in clumps on the hills. In the villages and along the roadsides, where water is available, poplars and willows, as well as fruit-trees, grow freely. On the hill-sides and uncultivated land cumin-seed, violets, truffles, and asafoetida are gathered by the people.

The rainfall is light, about 6 inches in the year, and the air

is dry and bracing. The snowfall is often considerable, and is of great importance to the villages which depend on the snow for their irrigation. In Skardu and Shigar snow remains from the middle of December till the middle of March. In Rondu snow rarely lies. The cold is intense, most of the rivers freeze and form natural roads, superior to the rough tracks on their banks, and there are many villages which the sun's rays do not reach for more than an hour daily. The climate in the spring and autumn is mild; but in July and August the heat in the villages on the Indus is very severe, especially in the sandy plains of Skardu and the narrow rock-bound valley of Rondu.

The old rulers of Baltistan, known as Rajas or Gialpos, trace their descent from a *fakir.* One of the most famous of the Gialpos wa Ali Sher, who lived about the end of the sixteenth century. He conquered Ladakh, and built the fort on the rock at Skardu. Ahmad Shah was the last of the independent Rajas. His fort was captured by the Dogra general, Zorawar Singh, in 1840, and he himself accompanied Zorawar Singh on his ill-fated expedition into Tibet, and died in captivity near Lhasa. Several of his near relatives were deported as political prisoners to Kashmir, where their descendants still live. The present Rajas of Baltistan have little recognized power, but the people still look up to them with respect, and have endured their unlicensed exactions with patience.

The Baltis are of the same stock as the Ladakhis. They have Mongolian features, high cheek-bones, and eyes drawn out at the corners, but the nose is not so depressed as is the case with the Bhotis of Ladakh. These is very little to distinguish the Baltis from the Ladakhis, save the absence of the pigtail, but they are perhaps slighter in build and taller. They are good-natured and patient, and are devoted to polo. In spite of much oppression, hey are a merry, light-hearted race, always ready to laugh. Their dress consists of a skull-cap, coat and trousers of wool, and raw skin boots made comfortable by grass quilted inside. They shave the head, leaving long elf-locks growing from behind the temple into which they entwine flowers.

When the Baltis adopted Islam and became Shiahs they eschewed polyandry; and while in Ladakh, where polyandry prevails, the population does not fall heavily on the land, in Baltistan the population, owing to polygamy, is too range for the cultivated area. The density rises to 1,649 persons per square mile of cultivation in Khapalu, and the average per square mile of cultivation in 1,467. The constant sub-division of the lands held by a family leads to holdings becoming so small that the occupier can no longer subsist by cultivation, but deserts his land and turns to other means of earning a livelihood. There is in consequence much real poverty, and the Baltis emigrate to India in search of labour, or carry loads to Gilgit and Ladakh.

The principal castes are Raja, Balti, Saiyid, and Brukpa. The Baltis are numerically the strongest, and hold most of the land; but the Raja caste, including the local chiefs and their collaterals, hold a considerable area of cultivation and enjoy numerous privileges. The Brukpa are immigrants from Dardistan, and are a distinct people from the Baltis. According to Major Kaye, Settlement Commissioner, Kashmir, they correspond to the Dum in Kashmir in their position among the village community.

The most important tracts in Baltistan are Skardu, Shigar, Braldah, Basha, Rondu, Haramosh, Kiris, Khapalu, Chorbat, Parkutta, and Tolti. Farther east lies Kargil, where some of the population are Buddhists, acknowledging the Grand Lama of Lhasa as their spiritual head. The Baltis have suffered great hardships from maladministration and forced labour in the past. The language of the people is Tibetan, with a small admixture of Persian and Arabic. It slightly differs from the Ladakhi language, but the two peoples understand each other's talk.

Cultivation depends on irrigation; and where water is plentiful excellent crops are raised. The actual work of cultivation, except ploughing, is done almost entirely by women, as the men are away tending cattle on the distant pastures, carrying loads to Ladakh and Gilgit, or repairing the watercourses and

the terraces on which their little fields are built up. In many places the fields are too small for ploughing by cattle, and then either spade labour is employed or the ploughs are drawn by human beings. The plough is light and is made entirely of wood. The chief spring crops are wheat, barley, beardless barley (*grim*), peas, beans, and lentils; while buckwheat, *china* (*Panicum miliaceum*), and *kangni* (*Setaria italica*) are the most important of the autumn crops. Turnips are also grown as a following crop after barley and *grim*. Except in the higher and colder tracts, or where manure is deficient, the land bears two crops each year.

Certain land, usually strong and difficult to cultivate, situated high up the source of irrigation above the cultivation proper of the village, and known as *ul abi*, is reserved for growing fodder-grasses, chiefly lucerne. This is always watered, fenced, and carefully looked after.

The soil is light, and requires little ploughing. The time for sowing depends on the snow, and when snow lies long it is artificially cleared by sprinkling earth over it. Among other peculiarities of cultivation in Baltistan may be noticed the large amount of irrigation given to spring crops as compared with that given to autumn crops; the practice of rooting out the crops, instead of cutting them; the little preparation given to the soil after the spring crop has been harvested and before the autumn crop is sown on the same land; and the utter absence of rotation crops. In some villages good tobacco is grown. No crops can be raised without manure. As winter approaches, earth is stored on the house-tops and mixed with the dung of cattle and human excrement. The latter is always collected in small walled enclosures. The manure is carried out in the spring in baskets and spread thickly over the land. Frost or early snowfall may cause a failure of crops.

Fruits play an important part in the economy of the Baltis. The apricots are celebrated, and are largely exported to Kashmir and the Punjab. The dried fruit and the kernels are both in great demand. The traders pay large sums in advance for the crop. Mulberries are an important source of food. Raisins are

exported. Excellent peaches, in quality hardly surpassed by the best English fruit, and good grapes, melons, and cucumbers are common.

Gold-washing is carried on in many villages, and all find it profitable, and pay most of the revenue from this source. The State charge for a licence for gold-washing is Rs. 10. In Kargil to the south-east of Baltistan the gold industry is of some importance, and for the most part the sand is excavated high above the present river-level. The present methods of washing are wasteful, and with better appliances the industry might give a large return. Arsenic is met with, and sulphur abounds. Copper is found in Rondu, and white nitre exists in several places, but is not collected.

There is very little trade. Tea, cloth, sugar, and rice are imported, and there is a small business in salt from Ladakh. The most considerable export is that of appricots and apricot kernels, but raisins are also exported to Kashmir. A special manufacture is a very close thick black *pattu* (*frekban*), resembling the cloth of which pilot-jackets are made. A curiosity is the *zabri-mora,* a green soft stone like an inferior jade found in the Shigar valley. Cups and plates ae made of it, and in Kashmir and the Punjab it is used as an antidote to poison and as a cooling lotion in eye diseases.

Communications are of the worst description, and money judiciously spent in road-making would add greatly to the comfort and prosperity of the Baltis. Several routes connect Baltistan with Kashmir, Ladakh, and Astor, and one dangerous track leads to Gilgit. Of the Kashmir routes, one passes over the Deosai plains. These lie at an elevation of 13,000 feet, and are surrounded by a ring of lofty mountains. For most of the year they are under snow, and even in the summer the cold at nights is intense. The so-called plains are mournful stretches of grass and stones, with many a bog difficult to cross, and uninhabited but for the marmots, an occasional begar, and swarms of big black gnats.

The absence of wood for fuel, the distance from human habitations, and local superstitions regarding 'the devil's place'

prevent the people from using the pastures of Deosai.

Baltistan has recently been placed under the charge of the Wazir Wazarat of Ladakh. His local deputies are the *tabsildars* of Skardu and Kargil. Both *tabsils* have recently been settled by a British officer, and it is probable that the long-suffering and patient Balti may look for better days. The ex-Rajas, or Gialpos, still exercise some authority over the people, and a definite sum out of the several collections has now been alienated in favour of each family. The total land revenue assessed at the recent settlement of the *tabsils* of Skardu and Kargil was 1.4 lakhs. Of this about a fourth is taken in kind.

Gilgit.—Head-quarters of a scattered district of Wazarat of the Kashmir State, situated in 35° 55¢ N. and 74° 23¢ E., at an elevation of 4,890 feet above sea-level. The Wazarat stretches south to Astor and the northern slopes of the Burzil, follows the Astor river to its junction with the Indus, and then runs north along the Indus to Bunji. It was once a flourishing tract, but has never recovered from the great flood of 1841, when the Indus was blocked by a landship below the Hattu Pir, and the valley was turned into a lake. Opposite Bunji is the valley of Sai, and 6 miles farther up the Gilgit river falls into the Indus. Gilgit is about 24 miles from the Indus, and has a considerable area of fertile irrigated land. The Wazarat now includes the tract known as Haramush on the right bank of the Indus, and numerous valleys leading down to the Gilgit river. To the north the boundary reaches Guach Pari on the Hunza road, and up the Kargan nullah as far as the Bhaldi mountain to the south in the direction of Darel. From Gilgit itself mountain roads radiate into the surrounding valleys, and its geographical position now, as in ancient times, renders the fort on the right bank of the Gilgit river an importance place. A suspension bridge connects Gilgit with the left bank, which is here as barren as the right bank is fertile. The ancient name of the site under its Hindu Ras was Sargin. Later it was known as Gilgit, which the Sikhs and Dogras corrupted into Gilgit, but to the country people it is familiar still as Gilit or Sargin Gilit. It lies in the most mountainous region of the Himalayas. Within a radium of 65 miles there are eleven peaks ranging

from 18,000 to 20,000 feet; seven from 20,000 to 22,000 feet; six from 22,000 to 24,000 feet; and eight from 24,000 to 26,600 feet. At their bases the mountains are barren and repellent, but at 7,000 feet there are fine forests of juniper and fir. Higher up grows the silver birch, and above all vegetable growth lie sweep after sweep of glacier and eternal snow.

The pencil cedar is found from 14,400 feet down to 6,000 feet, and sometimes reaches a girth of 30 feet. *Pinus excelsa* grows between 9,500 and 12,000 feet. The edible pine is common in Astor, ranging from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. The useful birch-tree is common, and grows as high as 12,500 feet. The tamarisk does well in the barren valleys up to 6,000 feet. Roughly speaking, the upper limit of vegetation round Gilgit is 16,200 feet; above this the rocks are stained with lichens.

Here are found the ibex and *markhor* (*Capra sibirica* and *C. Falconeri*), and occasionally the wild dog (*Cyon dukhunensis*). The red bear (*Urus arcts* or *isabellinus*), the snow cock (*Tetraogallus himalayanus*), and the grey partridge are common; and many of the migratory birds of India, wild geese, duck, and quail, pass up and down in the autumn and spring. Below the forest, on the lower and more barren hills, numerous flocks of wild sheep (*Ovis vignei* and *O. nahura*) are met with.

The climate is healthy and dry. At Gilgit itself it is never very cold, and snow seldom lies for more than a few hours. In the summer it is not owing to the radiation from the rocky mountains, but it is cool compared with the climate of Northern India. The rainfaull is very light.

The remains of ancient stone buildings and Buddhist carvings suggest that Gilgit was once the seat of a Buddhist or Hindu dynasty, while traces of abandoned cultivation point to the fact that the population in early times was far larger than it is at present. For many centuries the inhabitants of Gilgit have been Muhammadans, and nothing definite is now known of their Hindu predecessors. Tradition relates that the last of the Hindu Ras, Sri Badat, known as Adam-Khor, the 'man-eater,' was killed by a Muhammadan advanturer, who founded a

new dynasty known as Trakhane. Sri Badat's rule is said to have extended to Chitral, and the introduction of Islam seems to have split up the kingdom into a number of small states carrying on a fratricidal warfare and incessant slave-raiding. The Trakhane dynasty is now extinct, though it is claimed that the present titular Ra of Gilgit has a slight strain of Trakhane blood. In the early part of the nineteenth century we find Yasin giving a Ra to Gilgit. He was killed by the ruler of Panial, who in turn was killed by Tair Shah, chief of Nagar. Tair Shah was succeeded by his son, who was killed by Gauhar Aman, ruler of Yasin. For the subsequent history of Gilgit, see KASHMIR. The history Astor, or, as the Dogras call it, Hasora, is intiniately connected with that of Skardu. More than 300 years ago Ghazi Mukhpun, a Persian adventurer, is said to have married a princess of the Skardu reigning family. The four sons born of this union became Ras of Skardu, Astor, Rondu, and Kharmang respectively, and from them are descended the families of the present chiefs of those places. The independence of Astor ceased at the Dogra conquest. The present titular Ra of Astor is the lineal descendant of Ghazi Mukhpun. The Dogra rule has secured peace to the people, but it will be long before the country recovers entirely from the desolating slave-raids of Chilas.

The Wazarat contains 264 villages, and the population, according to the Census of 1901, is 60,885. The pressure on the cultivated area is great, the density being 1,295 persons per square mile. The people of Astor and Gilgit would be surprised if they were told that they were Dards living in Dardistan, and their neighbours of Hunza-Nagar and Yasin would be equally astonished. If consulted, they would probably describe their country as Shinaka, or the land of the Shins, were Shina is the spoken language. They are an Aryan people, stoutly built, cheerly, honest, frugal, and sober. They are devoted to polo, and are fond of dancing. The inhabitants of Astor wear a peculiar head-dress : a bag of woollen cloth, half a yard long, which is rolled up outwards at the edges until it gets to the size to fit comfortably to the head, round which the roll makes a protection from cold or from sun, nearly as good

as a turban. Their houses are small, with very small doors, and are usually built out from the mountain side. Warmth is the one consideration. The Astoris have some very peculiar customs. Drew notices that they hold the cow in abhorrence. They will not drink cow's milk, nor will they burn cow-dung, the universal fuel of the East, and in a pure Shin village no one will eat fowls or touch them. They practise inoculation for small-pox, their one epidemic. The people of Astor are Musalmans, two-thirds being of the Sunni persuation, and the rest being either Shaihs or Maulais. There is no religious intolerance in Astor.

Drew mentions the following caste divisions : Ronu, Shins, Yashkun, Kremins, and Dums. As regards the Ronu caste, he says that there are a small number of families in Gilgit. Biddulph, in his *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh,* states that it forms 6 per cent. of the Gilgit population, and that it is the most honoured caste of all, ranking next to Mukhpuns or the Raja caste of Dardistan. The majority of the Astoris belong to the Yashkun caste, and the Shins are few in number, under 3,000. They are more numerous in Gilgit, the total number of Shins, according to the Census, being 7,733. The Shins are regarded with great respect by the Yashkuns and the other caste. The Yashkuns claim the Shins as their forefathers. The Shins give their daughters to Ronus and to Saiyids, but take wives from the Yashkuns. Far away in Central Ladakh, in the Hanu valley, live other Dards of the Buddhist religion. They have retained the Aryan type of the country whence they came and its Shina dialect, but they wear the pigtail and the Ladakhi cap. It is said that, though Buddhist by name, they really worship local spirits and demons. They practise polyandry, but they will not eat with Tibetan Buddhists, and, like the Shins in Dardistan, they hold the cow in abhorrence.

In Gilgit, as in Astor, there are few social subdivisions, for the people are forced to depend on themselves for most wants of life. The language spoken is Shina, though only a small percentage of the population is Shin. The religion is Islam, the Shiah sect preponderating. There is an entire absence of fanaticism. The national character is mild, and the men are unwarlike. The Gilgit is attached to his home and his family,

and is an industrious cultivator. Both men and women are strongly built, and of a fairer complexion than the people of India. The women paint their faces with a kind of thin paste to keep the skin soft and to prevent sunburn. They are fond of flowers, and decorate their caps with irises and roses.

The cultivation is of a high character. The fields are carefully tilled heavily manured, and amply irrigated. In Gilgit itself good rice is grown; and crops of wheat, barley, maize, millet, buckwheat, pulses, rapeseed, and cotton are raised, while fruit is plentiful. There is very little grazing land, and cattle are scarce. Lucerne grass is largely cultivated for fodder.

In the old dry climate of Astor cultivation is carried on to an elevation of 9,000 feet. It depends entirely on irrigation by little channels known as *kul.* The chief crops are wheat, barley, peas, maize, millet, and buckwheat. The people pay great attention to fodder and cultivate the lucerne grass. Cultivation is precarious in Astor, as the crops frequently do not ripen owing to the cold, and there are several vegetable pests in the shape of worms.

Many of the streams are rich in gold, especially those which flow from Hunza and Nagar, and also the Indus above Chilas. Gold-washing is carried on in the winter chiefly by the poorer members of the population, though the work is often remunerative. At Chilas whole families live by the work. The gold is of fair quality, the best being twenty carats. The Bagrot valley is celebrated for gold-washing, and contains many signs of mineral wealth.

They only manufacture is the weaving of woollen cloth (*pattu*), but this is for home use and not for sale. Trade does not flourish. The local wants are few, and the only chance of Gilgit becoming an important commercial centre lies in the opening of a trade route to Yarkand. The chief staple of imoprt is salt. Russian chintz is brought down from Yarkand, and is said to be more durable than the English article.

The most important roads are those leading to India. The 10-foot road over the Burzil and Raj Diangan passes has been described in the article on KASHMIR. By that route Gilgit lies

at a distance of 390 miles from the pesent railway base at Rawalpindi. An alternative line has been opened over the Babusar pass, which brings Gilgit within 250 miles of the railway at Hassan Abdal. This line, besides being shorter, has the advantage of crossing only one snow pass, instead of two, or practically three, if the winter snow at Murree be taken into consideration. The routes to the north are mere tracks, when the military roads connecting Gilgit with the outposts at Gupis and Hunza have been passed.

There is a daily postal service with India by the Burzil pass and Kashmir, and the telegraph line follows the same route. Both services work well in spite of heavy snow and destructive avalanches, and are maintained by the Government of India. There is a weekly postal service from Gilgit to Chilas and Gupis, and a fortnightly post between Gilgit and Kashgar via the Kilik pass in the summer, and the Mintaka in the winter.

The Gilgit Wazarat is in charge of a Wazir Wazarat. Crime is slight; there is no jail and no police organization. Police duties are carried out by the levies and a few soldiers of the Kashmir regular troops. There is little litigation; and the chief business of the Wazir is the provision of supplies to the garrison at Gilgit, now effected by an excellent system of transport from Kashmir. In 1891-2, at the time of the Hunza-Nagar expedition, the garrison had a force of 2,451; in 1895, when the Chitral disturbances broke out, it consisted of 3,373; and the present garrison numbers 1,887, including a mountain battery, two infantry Imperial Service regiments, and Kashmir sappers and miners. A school is maintained at Gilgit.

A land revenue settlement of Astor and Gilgit has been made. It was found impossible to introduce a purely cash assessment, owing to the State's requirements in grain; but many inequalities and abuses were removed, and, on the whole, the condition of the villagers is satisfactory.

A British Political Agent resides at Gilgit. He exercises some degree of supervision over the Wazir of the Kashmir State, and is directly responsible to the Government of India for the administration of the outlying districts or petty States of

Hunza-Nagar, Ashkuman, Yasin, and Ghizar, the little republic of Chilas, and also for relations with Tangir and Darel, over which valleys the Punial Ras and the Mehtarjaos of Yasin have partially acknowledged claims. These States acknowledge the suzerainty of Kashmir, but form no part of its territory. They pay an annual tribute to the Darbar-Hunza and Nagar in gold, Chilas in cash (Rs. 2,628), Ashkuman, Yasin, and Ghizar in grain, goats, and *ghi*. The relations of the Political Agent with the outlying States ae eminently satisfactory. No undue interference takes place int he administration, and the people are encouraged to maintain their customs and traditions intact. Besides the military garrison, furnished by the Kashmir State, there is a small but extremely efficient force of local levies armed with snider carbines. They are drawn from Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Sai, and Chilis.

Shinaki.—A group of small republics in the valley of the Indus, lying west of Kashmir and south of Gilgit. The territory extends from the junction of the Astor river with the Indus to Seo on the right bank and Jalkot on the left bank of the latter river. Within this area the people are grouped in communities inhabiting one or more nullahs, each community forming a separate republic. Starting from the junction at Ramghat these are, in order : on the right bank, Gor, Kinergah, and Hodar; and on the left bank, Bunar, Thak, Butogah, Giche, and Thor. They constitute the area known as the Chilas subdivision of the Gilgit Agency, while Chilas proper includes Kinergah, Butogah, and Giche. Lower down the river are Darel, Tangir, Khilli, and Seo on the right bank, and Harban, Sazin, and Jalkot on the left bank.

After the conquest of Chilas by Kashmir in 1851, the Maharaja imposed a tribute in gold-dust, and arranged for the administration of the country as part of the Gilgit district. A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889, which included, among other territory, the Chilas subdivision described above except Thor. In 1892 a British mission to Gor was attacked by the Chilasis, which led to the occupation of their country and the appointment of a Political officer at Chilas. The right of the Kashmir Darbar to construct roads and station

a limited number of troops in the territory was secured, but the autonomy of the Chilasis was guaranteed. Under the revised arrangements made in 1897 the republics pay small fixed sums to the Maharaja, and in 1889 Thor was incorporated in Chilas. Darel has rendered a tribute of gold-dust to Kashmir since 1866, when the Maharaja's troops raided the country. The tribute is now paid through the Punial governor. Tangir pays a small tribute to the governor of Yasin. The remaining communities have no political relations with either Kashmir or British India, except Jalkot, which from its position dominates Thor and the head of the Kagan valley in the North-West Frontier Province.

Hunza-Nagar.—Two small chiefships lying to the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztagh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yasin by a range of mountains; while the Muztagh range divides Nagar from Baltistan on the east. The inhabitants of both chiefships come from the same stock and speak the same language, but are not usually on food terms with each other. In Hunza the people are Maulais or Ismailis, followers of the Aga Khan, while in Nagar they are ordinarily Shiahs.

Lying between these States and Gilgit are Chaprot and Chalt fort with some attached villages, which were long a source of contention between the rival chiefs. In 1877 the ruler of Nagar, with the assistance of the Kashmir Darbar, successfully occupied the disputed tract; but in 1886 he was persuaded to withdraw his troops, which were replaced by a garrison from Kashmir. In the same year Ghazan Khan, the *Tham* or chief of Hunza, was murdered by his son Safdar Ali, who succeeded him and professed submission to the Maharaja of Kashmir. The two chiefs combined in 1888, and ejected the Kashmir troops from Chaprot and Chalt, even threatening Gilgit, but both strongholds were reoccupied by the Kashmir forces after a few months.

A British Agency was re-established at Gilgit in 1889; and the chiefs agreed to respect the control of the agent, to allow free passage through their territory, and to stop raiding on the Yarkand road and elsewhere yearly subsidies being granted to them, besides the amount paid by the Kashmir State. These engagements were not respected; and in May, 1891, a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened Chalt, but dispersed on the arrival of reinforcements. Later in the year they refused to allow roads to be made to Chalt, extending to their own country, and it became necessary to dispatch troops against them. Nagar and Hunza were occupied, and the *Tham* of the former place submitted, while Safdar Ali, The *Tham* of Hunza, fled to Chinese Turkistan. The subsidies were withdrawn, and a Political officer and military force remained at Hunza till 1897; but in 1892 Muhammad Nazim Khan was installed as *Tham* in place of his half-brother Safdar Ali, while the *Tham* of Nagar was einstated. In 1895 subsidies were again granted by the Government of India and the Kashmir State, and in the same year both chiefs assisted in the relief of Chitral. Zafar Zahid Khan, *Tham* of Nagar, died in 1994 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khan.

The chief of Hunza, who claims Roskam and the Taghdumbash Pamir north of the Hindu Kush watershed, is pemitted to exchange presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar, but these relations are under consideration. Both States are autonomous as regards internal affairs, and acknowledge the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Kashmir, to whom they pay a tribute of nominal value. They furnish levies for the defence of the frontier, who receive pay from the Kashmir State, and are armed with Snider carbines, presented by the Government of India.

Baramula.—Town in the State of Kashmir, situated in 34° 13¢ N. and 74° 23¢ E. Population (1901), 5,866. Owing to its position as the river port of Kashmir, this is a place of some importance; but in consequence of the opening of he cart-road from Baramula to Srinagar, the boat taffic, on which the inhabitants chiefly depend, may in time decrease. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, which is crossed at the east

end of the town by an excellent bridge. The inhabitants are for the most part traders or shopkeepers. Baramula is very liable to earthquakes, and in 1885 it was almost reduced to ruins. The name is derived from the ancient city Varahmula, which stood on the right bank of the river along which the old route down the Jhelum used to run. Opposite, on the bank where the present Baramula stands, was the town of Hushkapura, founded by king Huvishka, the Kushan ruler, who succeeded Kanishka. The site of the ancient Hushkapura is about two miles to the south-east of the modern Baramula.

Islamabad.—Town in the State of Kashmir, situated in 33° 44¢ N. and 75° 12¢ E., about a mile from the right bank of the Jhelum, near the point where that river becomes navigable. Population (1901), 9,390. It lies under an elevated table-land, on the edge of which rises a conical hill, overlooking the town. From its foot flows a vigorous spring, the Anantnag, a name applied to the town by Hindus. There are numerous other springs, one of which, the Maliknag, is sulphurous, and its water is highly prized for garden cultivation. Many of the inhabitants are shawl-weavers, and a large number are engaged in agriculture. It is generally believed that Islamabad was once a large and prosperous place, but now there are few signs of prosperity or growth. The sanitation has been much neglected, and this constitutes a danger to the health of the capital, Srinagar.

Jammu Town.—Capital of the Jammu province, Kashmir State, and the winter head-quarters of the Maharaja, situated in 32° 44¢ N. and 74° 55¢ E., at an elevation of 1,200 feet above sea-level. Population (1901), 36,130. It lies high on the right bank of the river Tawi, which flows in a narrow ravine to join the Chenab. The town covers a space of about one square mile, densely packed with single-storeyed houses of round stones and mud with flat tops. In the upper portion are superior houses of brick, and in the Mandi stand the State offices and the palaces of the Maharaja and his brother. The general effect of Jammu is striking; and from a distance the whitewashed temples, with their gilded pinnacles, suggest a splendour which is dispelled on nearer acquaintance. The most conspicuous of

the temples is Raghunathji, but like all the other buildings in Jammu it is commonplace. The Dogras have little taste in architecture, and are essentially economical and practical in their ideas of domestic comfort.

The railway, which runs to Sialkot, a distance of about 27 miles, starts from the left bank of the Tawi. The river is spanned by a fine suspension bridge, and a good cort-road runs from the bridge as far as the Mandi. The other streets are narrow and irregular, and there is nothing of striking interest. Of late years the construction of water-works, the opening of the cart-road to the Mandi, the suspension bridge over the Tawi, and the railway extension from Sialkot have improved the conditions of life in Jammu; but there has been no marked response either in population or in prosperity.

In the palmy days of Raja Ranjit Deo, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, it is stated that the population was 150,000. There is nothing in the geographical position of Jammu which makes for prosperity. It lies on the edge of the Maharaja's territories, with an infertile hinterland. Rightly speaking, it should have been the emporium for Kashmir commerce, but the construction of the Kohala-Srinagar cart-road has taken trade away from the Jammu-Banihal route. At present there are hopes of the development of coal-mines to the north, 'which might bring prosperity to the Dogra capital; and the railway projected from Jammu to Srinagar would restore much business.

The town is situated on a hill. It may be aptly called 'the city of temples,' as every traveller is likely to be impressed with these, while approaching by road or train. The largest and the central place of worship is the temple of Sri Raghunathji. The town was a great centre of industry in the time of the late Maharaja Ranbir Singh, but now it is merely the residence of the ruiling family and the officials of the State. The governor (Hakim-i-Ala) of the province with his revenue office, the Chief Judge, the Sub-Judge and two magistrates of the first class, the Wazir-i-Wazarat of the Jammu district, the Superintendent of police, Jammu province, the chief medical officer, and the heads of various departments all live in Jammu,

together with the staff of their several offices. A large hall called the Ajaibghar was erected by the late Maharaja for the accommodation of the present King-Emperor, when he visited Jammu as Prince of Wales in the year 1875. The Mandi Mubarak palaces and the palace of Raja Sir Amar Singh, situated on the Ramnagar hill, towards the north of the town, are the chief attractions. The Central jail has a daily average of 268 prisoners, and costs about Rs. 20,000 per annum. The State high school is located in a large building, and is doing fairly efficient work. It contains about 800 pupils. A college to be named after the Prince of Wale is shortly to be opened. A State hospital is maintained, costing annually Rs. 14,800. Great improvements have been made in the drainage system of the town, which is managed by a municipal committee, and more improvements in this respect are under contemplation.

Kathua.—An overgrown village in the Jasrota district, Jammu province, Kashmir, situated in 32° 22¢ N. and 75° 32¢ E., on the right bank of the Ravi and between it and the Ujh river. Population (1901), 5,801. Kathua possesses no points of interest. The buildings are mean and dilapidated, and the place has no past and no future. The climate is unhealthy, and the water-supply scanty and bad.

Mirpur.—Town in the Bhimber district, Jammu province, Kashmir, situated in 33° 11¢ N. and 73° 49¢ E., at an elevation of 1,236 feet above sea-level. It lies 22 miles north of the British cantonment of Jhelum, and is said to have been founded about 200 years ago by the Gakhars, Miran Khan and Sultan Fateh Khan. It is situated on high ground on the edge of the Kareli Kas, from which drinking-water is easily procured. There are several rather picturesque temples, the chief being the Sarkari Mandir, built by Maharaja Gulab Singh, the Raghunathji, and the temple of Diwan Amar Nath. The town contains 550 shops, forming a long bazar running east and west. Apart from the shop-keeping class, Brahmans and Sikhs, of whom many are settled in Mirpur, the inhabitants are mostly of the artisan or menial classes. Thee is a flourishing State school badly housed, and a dispensary in a building wholly unsuited to the purpose. The town has a neglected appearance. The streets

are badly laid, dirty, and undrained, and there are no attempts at conservancy. Trade is brisk. It is mostly in the hands of Mahajans and Khattris. The chief articles of export to British India are grain, *ghi* from the hills and Punch, and minor forest products from Kotli, Punch, and Rajauri; the chief imports are salt, cloth, tea, and sugar.

Punch.—Principal place in the *jagir* of the same name, Kashmir State, situated in 33° 45¢ N. and 74° 9¢ E., at an elevation of 3,300 feet above sea-level. It lies on sloping ground above the right bank of the Tawi. Population (1901), 8,215. The town is oblong in shape, and is unwalled, with narrow streets. There are about 750 houses, generally single-storeyed with flat mud roofs. The fort, in which the Raja resides, stands on a mound about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the town. Punch is well supplied with water brought by channels from the neighbouring streams. The climate is not in the summer, and the rice-fields in the neighbourhood are probably one of the causes of the prevalence of fever. During the five hot months it is the custom to migrate to the hills to the summer camping-ground known as Dhoks. There is a flourishing market and a large trade is done in grain and *ghi*, in spite of the fact that there are no roads in the *jagir* fit for cart traffic. A good six-foot road for pack transport has nearly been completed from the town to Uri on the Jhelum, and there is a project for a road to Rawalpindi, with a suspension bridge over the Jhelum at Lachman Patan. Other important tracks lead to Gulmarg and Tosh Maidan in Kashmir, and to Jhelum. The ancient name was Parnotsa, and the place is often mentioned in the chronicles. The Kashmiris always speak of Punch as Prunts.

Srinagar.—Capital of Kashmir State, situated in 34° 5¢ N. and 74° 50¢ E., at an elevation of 5,250 feet above sea-level. The city lies along the banks of the Jhelum, with a length of about 3 miles and an average breadth of 1¼ miles on either side of the river. Originally houses were confined to the right bank of the river, and the site possesses many advantages, strategical and economic. It is not known when the extension on the left bank took place, but the royal residence was transferred to it in the reign of Ananta, 1028-63. Modern Srinagar,

on the right bank, occupies the same position as the ancient city of king Pravarasena II, who ruled at some period of the sixth century. Kalhana, in his famous chronicle, says that the city contained 3,600,000 houses, and, writing of his own times, he states that there were mansions reaching to the clouds. Later Mirza Haidar and Abul Fazl mention the lofty houses of Srinagar built of pine-wood; and Mirza Haidar says that the houses had five storeys, and that each storey contained apartments, halls, galleries, and towers. The city lies cradled between the hill of Sarika, now corrupted into Hari Parbat, and the hill of Gopa (Gopadri), now commonly known as Takht-i-Sulaiman or 'Solomon's throne.' Beyond the hille lies the exquisite Dal Lake, the never-failing source of food as well as pleasure to the citizens. In Hindu times the Hari Parbat was not fortified. The present fort on the summit is quite modern, and the bastioned stone wall enclosing the hill was built by Akbar. There are various legends regarding the temple known to the Hindus as Sankaracharya, which crowns the picturesque peak of the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The super-structure is not ancient; but the massive and high base of the temple is probably very old, and is connected with the worship of Jyeshtharudra, in whose honour the legendary king Jalauka built a shrine.

There are not many buildings of note in Srinagar. On the left bank stands the Shergarhi, the modern palace of the Dogra rulers, where the Maharaja and his family live and the State officials work. The site was chosen by the Afghan governors for their fortified residence. Across the river is the finest *ghat* in Srinagar, the Basant Bagh, with grand stone steps pillaged from the mosque of Hasanabad, a reversal of the more common conditions in Kashmir, for most of the modern buildings in the valley are formed of materials robbed from the old Hindu temples. Lower down on the right bank is the beautiful mosque of Shah Hamadan, one of the most sacred places in Kashmir. As usual, it was built on the foundations of a Hindu temple, and a Hindu idol in a niche in the stone foundation is daily worshipped by the Hindus. It is constructed of *deodar*-wood beautifully carved. The pagoda-like roof is surmounted by a curious final capped with brass, and the four corners of the

roof are finished by a kind of gargoyle with large wooden tassels attached, a form of construction which distinctly suggests Buddhist influence. Next in sancity to the Shah Hamadan is the great mosque, or Jama Masjid, a short distance from the right bank of the Jhelum, between the bend of the river and the Hari Parbat. This is a Saracenic building of some grandeur, with cloisters about 120 yards in length, supported by grand pillars of *deodar* 30 feet in length.

4

The Kashmiri Pandits

I

The rise of British power in India, thanks to its superior organization and diplomacy, led gradually to the breakdown of the Mogul and Marhatta Empires. As a result, the country came to be divided into a number of small principalities which sprang up upon the debris of these once magnificent Imperial structures. In the South Haidar Ali founded an independent State in Mysore, and the breakdown of Peshwa's ascendancy led to the formation of a number of Marhatta States. Asaf Jah installed himself as an independent ruler of Haidarabad. Then there were the Rajputana states, and cis-Satluj Sikh States such as Patiala, Jind, Faridkot Nabha etc.,—the other Sikh Misls having been liquidated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The chaos was so general and the breakdown so complete that even European adventurer such as Sombre tried to establish himself near Delhi in Sardhana where his wife Begum Samru a Kashmiri Muslim girl who later became a Christian ruled as a semi-sovereign for long. In Bengal the British installed a person of their choice, Mir Jaffar by name, on the throne left vacant by Sirajuddowlla. In almost all these States there were Kashmiri Pandits though their role may not have been such as may be called historical. But there they were, at such far off places as Bengal in the East and Mysore in the South. Pandit Ganga

Ram who later rose very high at the Sikh Durbar was a great dignitary at Gwalior. It was from there that he migrated with a number of Pandits and later settled at Lahore on the invitation of the Sikh Ruler. Some of them were in Tippu Sultan's Mysore; and in the small principalities of Central India the administration was controlled and carried on mostly by the Pandits. And when the British established their direct rule over the country, they found the Kashmiri Pandits almost everywhere in charge of the lower branches of administration. The British left them at their posts and even meted out great encouragement to them. Their attitude towards this community can be summed up in the words of Mr. George Cempbell who says : "The Kashmiri Brahmins are quite high Aryans in the type. Their features are very fair and handsome, with high chiselled features and no trace of inter-mixture of the blood of my lower race. It may be partly race and partly occupation but they have certainly a great refinement and regularity of features.... They rule by the brain and the pen and not by the sword. It is the character that has gained them the favour of so many rulers of a different faith. Kashmir long belonged to the Kabul Kingdom, but it was never in any degree colonised by the Afghans.... The fact seems to be that the valley never belonged to the Afghan nation, but was always retained as a crown appanage of the kings who were very jealous of admitting into it subjects whom they might find it difficult to turn out again and much preferred to govern through the Pandits.... As a body the Pandits excel in acuteness the same number of any other race with whom they come in contact".

With such an opinion formed by the British about the Kashmiri Pandits it was but natural that the former should have extended their unstinted support to them. The Pandits' knowledge of Persian and Urdu was of a very high order and they had taken to the study of English language much earlier than many others. With the reorganization of courts, they came to be appointed in subordinate Judiciary and many amongst them entered the legal profession, from its very start and became the recipients of highest posts in the judiciary and were the first Indians to be appointed to such posts. Mr.

Justice Shambu Nath whose father Sada Sheo had migrated from Kashmir in the closing years of the 18th Century was born at Calcutta in the year 1820 A.D. and was appointed as a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta in 1862 A.D. He was the first Indian to be appointed as the Judge of a High Court. So also was another Kashmiri Pandit Mr. Justice Ram Narain Dar who was the first Indian to be appointed as a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court. In United Provinces where the Kashmiri Pandits had settled in large numbers the leadership at the Bar was for years held by them. To name just a few we might refer to the Hon'ble Ajudhya Nath Kunzru, the Hon'ble Pandit Bishamber Nath, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, Bar-at-Law Pandit Jagat Narain Malla, Pandit Brij Narayan Chakbast, Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Kailas Nath Katju, Pandit Janki Nath Chak and lastly the great Pandit Moti Lal Nehru. All these gentlemen were great nation-builders and took a very prominent part in building the National movement. In the Punjab Pandit Sheonarayan Shamim retained the leadership of the Bar for a number of decades he was a great poet, a great social reformer, a great student of music and a great Budhist scholar to which faith He held allegiance. Even in recent time there has been a galaxy of eminent Kashmiri Pandit Judges such as Mr. Justice Wanchoo, Mr. Justice S.K. Dar, Mr. Justice Kichlu, Mr. Justice Sapru, Mr. Justice T.N. Mulla. Mr. Justice A.N. Mulla, Mr. Justice P.K. Kaul Mr. Justice R.K. Kaul etc.

It would not serve any useful purpose to multiply names excepting for the purpose of showing the extent of official rise of this community. In the Punjab, Raja Narendra Nath and Raja Hari Kishen Kaul retired as Commissioners. Raja Narendra Nath, a great landowner and a grandson of Adjutant General Diwan Ajudhia Prashad took part in politics after his retirement and was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly and was appointed as a Minister. Raja Hari Kishen was appointed as Chief Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir State at a very troublous period of its history. Sir Ganga Ram Kaula, Pandit Brij Lal Nehru, rose very high in the Audit and Accounts Departments. Sir Ganga Ram is a direct descendant of Prabha Kaul who was wrapped in a mat and thrown into Dal Lake to

be drowned there along with a number of Pandits under orders of Mir Hazar Khan, the Afghan Subedar in 1792 A.D. But he was saved and fled to India. After having reached the highest rung in the official ladder Sir Ganga retired, and was afterwards appointed as the Chief Minister of Jind State where he served as such for about eleven years. Pandit Manmohan Nath Kaul whose services were lent to Kashmir Durbar was appointed as Governor of Kashmir. Apart from the settlement work which was achieved under his supervision in 1901 A.D. he was a great social reformer. It was he who introduced modern ways of living in the local Pandit population. There is hardly a state in India where at one time or the other a Kashmiri Pandit was not appointed as a Diwan. For instance, Sir Pandit Daya Kishen Kaul was the Chief Minister of Patiala State, Sir Sukhdev Prashad Kak Diwan of Jodhpur, Dharam Narayan Haksar Diwan of Sailana State, Pandit Ram Chandra Kak Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, Pandit Brij Mohan Nath Zutshi Diwan of Ratlam State, Pandit Maharaja Narain Sheopuri Dewan of Datia State etc. There were other Pandits who were appointed as Ministers in many states, such as, Pandits Col. Sir Kailas Narayan Haksar (Gwalior), P.K. Wattal, (Kashmir,) Radha Krishen Kaul (Kashmir), Diwan Gyan Nath administrator at Nabha, Tribhuwan Nath Sopori (Udaipur), Amar Nath Atal (Jaipur), Narendre Nath Kaul (Kashmir) etc. The last named was a great administrator who solved the problem of the distribution of food grains in Kashmir in a most rational and scientific manner. His name is a byword in Kashmir and the magnificent institution known as Food Control Department built by him and which has stood the test of more than three decades is a living monument to his greatness.

How so ever high positions the Kashmiri Pandits may have achieved in the administration of the country, yet all this pales into insignificance before the magnificent role that they played in building the National Movement. Their urge for freedom their patriotic fervour and singleminded devotion to the cause of their country has carved a place of honour for them in the History of India. It was in the year 1885 A.D. that National Congress was founded. Many Kashmiri Pandits

associated themselves with the Congress from its very inception. Even before its birth Pandit Ajudhy-Nath Kunzru started a paper, Indian Herald, in 1879 A.D. which adopted a strong nationalist policy. Ajudhya Nath was a brilliant advocate of his time. He was treated with great consideration and respect by the officials, but he lost caste with them the moment he gave expression to his nationalistic views. Undaunted by official frowns, he went ahead, and joined the National Congress. The fourth session of the Congress was held at Allahabad in 1888 A.D. All sorts of impediments were placed in the path of the organizers of the session by the officials and their non-officials supporters. But nevertheless a strong Reception Committee with Pandit Ajudhya Nath as Chairman was formed. Pandit Adjudhya Nath as Chairman was formed. Pandit Ajudhya Nath roused the people with his fiery eloquence. He was ready "to hold the Congress at any cost, wholly at his own expense, if necessary." Pandit Ajudhya Nath had an abundant store of wit and humour which served him well at the most crucial point. He had started a tour of the Provinces for collection of funds for the Allahabad session. The officials and their supporters, side by side with abuse and opposition began to hurl ridicule on the organizers. The Pandit was making an appeal for funds at Agra when oppositionists sent a small boy with a pice to the rostrum, where the boy presented the pice to Ajudhya Nath as a contribution to the Congress. Along with this they shouted and jeered at the Pandit. But Adjudhya Nath at once thundered out that the country was bound to be free where patriotism had found room enough even in the heart of a small boy who having got a pice from his mother offered it to the nation. The pice was put to auction and fetched a few thousands of rupees. He was elected to the U.P. Legislative Council and was a fellow of both the Calcutta and Allahabad universities. He was proposed for the presidentship of Nagpur Congress but before he could preside he was taken seriously ill and breathed his last in the year 1892 A.D. at the age of fifty two years.

There is yet another great Kashmiri Pandit, a close collaborator with Pandit Ajudhya Nath whose contribution to

the building up of the Congress movement in its early years has been in no way small or meagre. His name is Pandit Bishambar Nath, a prominent Advocate of Allahabad. He joined the Congress soon after its formation and was elected as the Chairman of the Reception Committee on the occasion of the second Congress session at Allahabad, held in 1892 A.D. On the opening day of the session Pandit Bishambar Nath was taken seriously ill and was advised complete rest by his doctors and friends, but unmindful of his own health and the advice of friends, he attended the session and delivered a very learned address which was greatly appreciated and applauded by the audience. He was elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council and continued there for a number of years. The depth of his popularity can be gauged from the fact that his return was always uncontested. His Council speeches were brilliant pieces of advocacy characterised by a spirit of fearlessness which should have been unthinkable in eighteen ninety's. After the conviction of Lokmanya Tilak in 1898 A.D. for sedition, the British Government wanted to fight the growing political unrest by further drastic changes in the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes Pandit Bishambar Nath in his speeches reduced the arguments on the Government side to smithreens and succeeded largely in curbing the mischief that was sought to be done. Pandit Bishamber Nath was proposed for the presidentship, of the Lahore Congress in 1900 A.D., but he refused the honour for reasons of health. He died in the year 1907 A.D. the torch of national service was kept incessantly burning by other men, though small in structure belonging to this community, when we come across with another Kashmiri Pandit by name, Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, Bar-at-law, who joined the congress with the dawn of the twentieth century. He is the first Kashmiri Pandit to have gone to England for higher studies. Orthodoxy in religion was at its highest then amongst the Kashmiri Pandits and when he came back after having been called to Bar, a howl was raised by a section of Kashmiri Pandits all over India. There were some amongst them who were of the opinion that he could never regain his caste, even after very elaborate Prayachitam, though the Vivasthha of the Pandits from Kashmir

was that Pandit Bishan Narayan could be taken back into his caste after due purificatory ceremonies. Pandit Bishan Narayan performed the purificatory rites, and was admitted into their fold by the advanced section of the community, but the more orthodox refused point-blank to have any truck with him. They even nicknamed the advanced Pandits as Bishan Sabhais. For themselves they reserved the pompous title of Dharam Sabhais. There was a huge controversy and apart from any other thing some very good poetry was the result. Pandit Rattan Nath Dar Sarshar, a Kashmiri poet of Lucknow, has composed some very beautiful verses, called by him as Masnavi in defence of Bishan Narayan. This first public appearance in which Pandit Bishan Narayan made a mark was in the year 1903 at the Madras Congress session, when he moved the resolution on Official Secrets Bill. While moving the resolution, Pandit Bishan Narayan said that "Lord Curzon is astonished that this should be described as Russianizing the administration. I am astonished that any one should be so imperfectly informed regarding the Russian Government as to think that it has got anything in its purely civil Laws so arbitrary and so disastrous to the civil liberties of the people as Lord Curzon's Bill when passed would be in this country". He was elected President of the Congress in 1911 which was held at Calcutta. As President of the Congress he delivered a brilliant address, every word of which breathed a deep sense of patriotism, though as a whole the address was moderate in outlook. No apology is offered to give a rather lengthy excerpt from his address :

> "The root cuase of most of our misfortunes, which if not corrected, forebodes serious disorders in the future, is the growth of an unsympathetic and illiberal spirit in the bureaucracy towards the new born hopes and ideals of the Indian people. While a new India has gradually been rising up, that spirit too has been growing and so a critical situation has arisen. The bureaucracy with its vested interests, its domineering habits, its old traditions of absolute and unquestioned authority, suspicious of knowledge, and averse to innovation like very close corporation, cut off from the people by

its racial exclusiveness and wedded to a paternal system of Government under which it has so long enjoyed power and pelf but which is discordant with the more liberal ideas of the day, is antagonistic to the educated classes who are filled with new knowledge and are conscious of their political rights. The Bureaucracy as a body has never been in sympathy with the new aspirations of educated India....

"In the pursuit of a high ideal we must not forget the difficulties that beset our path. Long and weary is the journey that lies before those who undertake to mould a people into the unity of a nation. Our agitation, in order to be effective, must be national, not sectarian, persistent not spasmodic, directed by intelligence and wisdom, and not impulsive and reckless. India needs bold and enthusiastic character, not men of pale hopes, and middling expectations but courageous natives, fanatics in the cuase of their country,

"Whose breath is agitation

And whose life a storm where on they ride".

For such a type of leadership the country had not a wait for long. It was just within less than a decade that there appeared on the political scene some very dynamic personalities "whose breath was indeed agitation and whose life a storm whereon they rode". And it must have been a source of great satisfaction to the departed soul of Pandit Bishan Narayan that this type of leadership was provided by his own community.

Mention may here be made of another Kashmiri Pandit, Mr. Brij Narayan Chakbast, who was a great Urdu poet. Though primarily a poet, he was largely influenced by Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar who infused his own political fervour in him Pandit Bishan Narayan was himself a poet of great merit. Pandit Chakbast resolutionised Urdu poetry in so far as he made a departure from orthodox standards which guided the course of Urdu poetry till then. He is the first Urdu poet who introduced patriotic themes in his poems, and kindled a passion

for freedom in the minds of middle class youths in United Provinces. An ardent supporter of Home Rule, a famous line occurring in one of his poems. "We Shall reject even Heaven if offered as an alternative to Home Rule" remained a slogan for long.

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar died in 1916 A.D. at an early age of fifty two. Soon after did Congress convert itself into a revolutionary body under the unique, unparalleled and unprecedented leadership of Mahatma Gandhi; and with it was a new era introduced in the politics of the country. At the very start of his great movement. Mahatma Gandhi was able to enlist the support of the great Nehrus whose part in building the national movement has been so great that it can be asserted as has been asserted by many without the least fear of contradiction that "the story of the Nehrus is the history of the Indian freedom movement itself". The elder Nehru, Pandit Motilal, was in the Congress much earlier than 1907 A.D. Speaking in general terms, he was then quite moderate in politics and was a bitter critic of the advanced section known then as extremists whom he described as mere talkers totally cut off from reality. He was elected as the president of U.P. Congress Provincial Committee and was present at Surat when a schism occurred in the Congress. In short he was not new to the Congress when the later assumed its leadership though his earlier connections with it were that of a "moderate politician"

Mr. C.F. Andrews who has credited Pandit Motilal as being "A maker of modern India" has described him in the following words :

> "Kashmiri Brahmans, to which class Pandit Motilal Nehru belonged, are well known all over the north of India both for their intellectual powers and fine appearance. They are by birth, what may truly be called, an aristocratic race, and easily recognized as such. Motilal was typical of this distinguished class and in his old age he gained the reputation of being the "aristocrat of the Assembly". His spotless Khaddar dress, with his white Kashmiri shawl, suited him perfectly, and his portrait is rightly

given the place of honour in his son's Autobiography. The fine features, which I have mentioned and the fair complexion run through the whole family and have descended from father to son".

Pandit Jawaharlal has also drawn a portrait of the great Pandit in the following words :

> "There was in him a strength of personality and a measure of kingliness. In any gathering where he was present he would inevitably be the centre and the hub. Whatever the place he sat at table, it would become, as an English Judge said later, the head of the table. He was neither meek nor mild. Consciously imperious, he created great loyalty as well as bitter opposition. It was difficult to feel neutral about him; one had to like him or dislike him. With a broad forehead, tight lips, and a determined chin he had a marked resemblance to the busts of the Roman Emperors in the museums in Italy. There was a magnificence about him and a grand manner, which is sadly to seek in this world of today".

For his magnificent deeds and achievements, collosal sufferings and sacrifices, Pandit Motilal has been quite rightly described as "the father of defiant patriotism" and the "first and foremost pillar of Gandism". Pandit Motilal is further described as a great freedom fighter "who transmuted the spineless leadership of the Indian Liberals into a death defying crusade of sterling independence". He was an ardent advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Congress-League Scheme, the first conscious attempt at solving the Hindu-Muslim problem was framed in his house in 1916 A.D. He was apparently very much satisfied with this achievement but his political beliefs were quite in keeping with the Moderate creed though signs were not wanting which pointed that a big change in the mind of Pandit Motilal was in the offing. And the change was soon seen. Afterwards what Pandit Motilal did and what he achieved is a matter of recent history—fresh in men's minds and need not be gone into here with any amount of detail. But it should

be noted here that the massacre at Amritsar and the Martial Law atrocities iu the Punjab shook the very foundations of the faith on which his life was hitherto built. And when the call of non-co-operation came, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, he fully responded. No doubt he did it slowly, but did it deliberately realizing all the consequences which it involved. The change-over was not an easy one. Pandit Motilal's earnings were very huge and his generosity was equally great. His standard of living was very high. He had many European and Indian friends belonging to high aristocratic circles. To change all this for a life of poverty and privations and give up his huge lucrative practice at the Bar was indeed very difficult. But he did all this. Henceforth his soul did shine in its pristine resplendence and glory. Pandit Motilal went to jail many a time. He drafted a constitution for India—now known as Nehru Report, almost single-handed. Twice he presided over the Congress. He organized the first regular opposition in the Assembly and as a leader of opposition and a parliamentary tactician he has not many parallels in the world. His burning patriotism can be gathered from his last political utterance when he said :

> "Decide India's fate in Swaraj Bhawan decide it in my presence and let me be a party to the final honourable settlement of the fate of my motherland. Let me die, if die I must, in the lap of a free India. Let me sleep my last sleep not in a subject country, but in a free country".

Pandit Motilal presided over the Calcutta Congress in 1928 A.D. where a sort of ultimatum was given to the British Government that in case Dominion Status was not granted within a year, the country would switch off to independence. The next session of the Congress was held at Lahore under the presidentship of his illustrious son Pandit Jawaharlal. It was a unique sight to see the father handing over the charge of the Congress to his son. Though Pandit Jawaharlal was hardly forty, then, yet in the words of Mahatma Gandhi he "possessed dash of the warrior and the prudence of the statesman in whose hands nation was safe". Prophetic words these !—subsequent events have fully shown that the nation

has remained indeed safe in hands of Jawaharlal. As customary with it, the British Government failed to understand the spirit of times and refused to grant even Dominion Status within the year of grace, resulting in the Congress passing a resolution demanding full independence. The honour of raising the banner of independence at midnight of 31st December, 1929 was reserved by an inscrutable Providence for Pandit Jawaharlal. Thenceforth started Jawaharlal's Jail going. Nine times was he imprisoned spending the best part of his life in Jails. And when in 1936 there came about a temporary break in his jail-going (after having spent about five years in imprisonment) his friends and foes found him with greater vigour and freshness. Elections were soon in the offing. Pandit Jawaharlal made an extensive all-India tour in shortest possible time, Wherever he went, he simply conquered. The polls were swept and Congress rule in eight provinces including the Muslim Frontier Province was the result.

II

Pandit Jawaharlal's solution of the problem that have confronted the country has always been characterised by a very bold and courageous approach. His thought has always been clear and his action therefore always effective. In matters of detail Jawaharlal may have sometimes compromised here or there but on matters of principle he has never given way. Hard prison life extending over years at a stretch did not diminish his rigid adherence to his principles of life even by an iota even though it meant at times huge suffering and sacrifice. His sixth terms of imprisonment which was quite a long term came to an end on 30th August 1933. Soon after in September of the same year Pandit Jawaharlal in spite of the fact that his household affairs were none-too-happy—his ailing mother Smt. Swarup Rani, who herself had taken a very prominent part in the freedom movement and had even faced police batons was lying in the hospital, and his brave and noble wife Shrimati Kamala Nehru on whom had fallen the task of attending on Sh. Swarup Rani was herself unwell he

found time to survey the Indian situation in such a bold, courageous and detached manner in his three articles antitled "whither India" which baffled both his friends and critics. Unmindful of the troubles which lay ahead, he posed and discussed the question as to what is the aim of our freedom movement in a very very bold and frant manner. Says he :

"Is our aim human welfare on the preservation of the class privileges and the vested interests of the pampered groups ? The question must be answered clearly and unequivocally by each one of us. There is no room for quibbling when the fate of nations and millions of human beings is at stake. The day for palace intrigues and parlour politics and pacts intrigues and parlour politics and pacts and compomises passes when the masses enter politics. Their manners are not of the drawing room; we never took the trouble to teach them any manners. Their school is the school of events and suffering is their teacher. They learn their politics from great movements which bring out the true nature of individuals and classes and the civil disobedience movement has taught the Indian masses many a lesson which they will never forget".

This would show the depth of his convictions before which everything including collosal sufferings and sacrifices paled into insignificance. And in all this he had always the blessings of his noble wife handy who even on death-bed encouraged him to follow the path he had chosen. Jawaharlal was serving his seventh term, when the health of Shrimati Kamala Nehru deteriorated so much that he was temporarily released from Jail to be with her in her last moments. After eleven days Jawaharlal was again taken back to Jail. Suggestions were made to him on behalf of the Government that if he gave even an informal assurance that he would desist from politics during the rest of his term he would be released to attend on Shrimati Kamala. While he was taking leave of Shrimati Kamala she whispered to him "What is this, about your giving an assurance to Government ? Do not give it". This small sentence by itself speaks volumes. The true womanhood of India spoke through her. And what has been the result of all this ? A free India and an India which daily goes higher and higher in

world's estimation. For all this he has been the recipient of very high tributes from all who count. Some have described him as a great patriot, a fearless freedom fighter. Others have praised his high artistic sense, his great literary attainments and real knowledge of history. There are yet others who admire his high statemanship, his unequivocal support to the principles of international peace and amity. There are may who describe him as a man of great decency with whom the most prized object in this world in full human dignity. And there are not a few who see in him the great upholder of high moral values and ethical standards, which are daily receding to the background in the world of today. Some look upon him as a political prophet who has predicted many world events including the second world war with such precision that it should put to shame all the astrologers, wherever they be.

All this is undeniable. But with regard to Indian freedom movement, his contribution has been in a way unique, It was he who for the first time in India provoked thought on right lines and cleared the minds of the freedom fighters of cobwebs of doubt and confusion which reacted very adversely on their thought and activities. Gandhiji started his great Movement. The whole of India rose like one man. But very few knew as to what was the end to which the movement would lead. Every body had his own notions about the Movement and every body interpreted it according to his own light. Even Gandhiji did not encourage clear thinking on this matter. There is reason for this which may not be gone into here. Sir Valentine Chirol once in 1921 questioned Mahatma Gandhi in Anand Bhawan at Allahabad as to what was his conception of Swaraj "the lion shall lie with the lamb". For the time being this might mean a lot, and yet mean very little. When once the things have settled down,—the question as to "for whose freedom did we fight" is sure to crop up then in its grim nakedness. It was after all left for Jawaharlal to give a definite shape and form to the Indian freedom movement and pull it out of the thraldom of doubt and confusion. In his "Whither India" Pandit Jawaharlal has posed this question with great clarity and precision. Says he :

"Again whose freedom are we particularly striving for, for nationalism covers many sins and included many conflicting elements. There is the feudal India of the princes, the India of the big Zamindars, of small Zamindars, of the professional classes, of the agriculturists, of the industrialists of the bankers, of the lower middle class of the workers. There are the interests of foreign capital and those of home capital, of foreign services and home services. The nationalists answer is to prefer home interests to foreign interests, but beyond that it does not go. It tries to avoid disturbing the class divisions or the social status quo. It imagines that the various interests will somehow be accommodated when the country is free. Being essentially a middle class movement, nationalism works chiefly in the interest of that class. It is obvious that there are serious conflicts between various interests in a country and every law, every policy which is good for one interest may be harmful for another. What is good for the Indian prince may be thoroughly bad for the people of his State, what is profitable for the zamindar may ruin many of his tenants what is demanded by foreign capital may crush the rising industries of the country. Nothing is moe absurd that to imagine that all the interests in the nation can be fitted in without indury to any. At every step some have to be sacrificed for others...." Further on in the same pamphlet He writes :

"India's struggle today is part of the great struggle which is going on all over the world for the emancipation of the oppressed. Essentially this is an economic struggle, with hunger and want as its driving forces, although it puts on nationalist and other dresses. Indian freedom is necessary because the burden on the Indian masses as well as on the middle classes is too heavy to be borne and must be lightened or done away with. The measure of freedom is the extent to which this burden is removed. This burden is due to the vested interests of a foreign government as well as those of certain

groups and classes in Indian and abroad. The achievement of freedom thus becomes a question, as Gandhiji said recently, of divesting vested interests. If an indigenous Government took the place of the foreign Government and kept all the vested interests intact, this would not even be the shadow of freedom. Swaraj or freedom from exploitation for the masses is not a fine paper constitution or a problem of the hereafter. It is question of here and now of immediate relief. Roast lamb and mint sauce may be a tasty dish for these who eat it but the poor lamb is not likely to appreciate the force of the best or arguments which points out the beauty of sacrifice for the good of the elect and the joys of close communion, even though dead, with mint sauce."

The pamphlet is concluded with the following passage :

"Whither India ? Surely to the great human goal of social and economic equality, to the ending of all exploitation of nation by nation and class by class, to national freedom within the frame work of an international co-operative socialist world federation. This is not such an empty idealist dream as some people imagine It is within the range of the practical politics of today and the near future. We may not have it within our grasp but those with vision can see it emerging on the horizon. And even if there be delay in the realization of our goal, what does it matter if our eyes look steadily in front. For in the pursuit itself of a mighty purpose there is joy and happiness and a measure of achievement."

Upto the September of 1933, this type of language was certainly unheard of. The articles which constitute the pamphlet created a stir in the whole of Asia and these were translated into many Asiatic languages. In India too it certainly created an unprecedented ideological revolution. But all this was a bitter pill for the British ruler. As hinted earlier by the "Statesman" he was soon arrested and sentenced to a long term of

imprisonment.

It is indeed impossible to recount the achievements of Jawaharlal in the short space available, but yet a brief reference to the solution provided by him of the problems emerging out of the existence of the India states can not be avoided. For this reason or that the Indian States people were a neglected lot, the Congress policy from the very beginning was to leave the Indian States alone. There wee some amongst the Congressmen who looked upon the Indian princes "as the visible representation of India's past glory" and there were others who saw in Indian States "self-Government in action." Least did they know that it was not the love of India's past glory, but their own self-interest, which provided reason to the British Government to continue the princes existence. It was Lord Canning who soon after mutiny said that "It was long ago said by Sir John Malcolm that if we made all-India into districts, it was not in the nature of things that our Empire should last fifty years; but that if we should keep a number of native states without political power, but as loyal instruments, we should exist in India as long as our naval supremacy was maintained." Lord Canning proceeds "of the substantial truth of his opinion I have no doubt, and the recent events have made it more deserving of our attention than ever." Thus did the Indian States spring into existence their justification being consolidation and strengthening of the British rule. The Princes on their part fully justified Malcolm's remarks. Describing the condition of his subjects, the Maharaja of Kotah wrote to the Viceroy on 28th August 1909. "My own subjects are all engaged in their agricultural pursuits, and hardly anybody reads a newspaper and the knowledge of the fact that there are some political activities going on in British India is limited only to some people amongst the upper classes and some state servants."

Kotah's letter was in answer to a circular letter of the Viceroy addressed to the Princes directing them to prevent progressive ideas from percolating into their States. Other Princes also wrote in a similar vein. With the growth of a revolutionary movement in India, the British Government now rivetted its

attention more and more on Indian States as it last retreat. The Princes were organized in a "Chamber of Princes." It was proposed that the Indian Federation would constitute of Provinces and the Indian States, and the Princes would act as hereditary Provincial Heads. The States' subjects were nowhere in the picture, and in all matters of interest to them, they were to be represented by the Princes who were described as their "natural leaders." The Princes were encouraged to take their stand on time worn treaties and thus stand as a bulwark against the rising onslaught of democracy. But seeing even all this, the Congress stuck to its policy of non-interference in Indian States. If the things had taken the course visualised by the British Government and the Princes, the problem would no doubt have baffled every attempt at a solution. Pandit Jawaharlal saw all this. Even at the cost of expressing an open disagreement with some of his colleagues, he raised his voice against all this as early as 1929 when in his Presidential Address he said at Lahore Congress "I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings and princes." Side by side with this bold declaration, Pandit Jawaharlal organized an All-India organization by name States' Peoples Conference which provided a platform for the State's People who were till then a backward and a disorganized lot. Within a few years, this organization became a formidable organization with its branches all over the country though much to the disappointment of Kotah and other princes who had built many a castle on the fact that "their subjects were engaged in agricultural pursuits only and hardly anybody read a newspaper." The result was a general awakening amongst the States' subjects. Many movements were started by them in which many a prince had to eat the humblepie. And when the time of leaving India by British came, the Princes though they had succeeded in securing a verdict of independence from the outgoing British, and were in fact busy building and nourishing dreams of an independent sovereignty, found themselves squeezed out by the pressure exerted by the Indian democracy on one side and on the other by their own subjects, who far from being the docile and backward creatures of Kotah variety, were now

fired with a potential revolutionary zeal to secure their own freedom. Had not Pandit Jawaharlal with the keen political foresight that he has, caught the time by the forelock and organized the States' people in time, it would have really a very tough job for even the tallest amongst the Indian leaders to find a solution of this formidable problem in the manner it has been found. The closest parallel to the situation thus created would have been that of the portuguese Goa. If Portuguese have their helpers, the Princely Order had no less.

For Kashmir Jawaharlal brought a new message and a new hope and gave a real shape and form to the movement which was till then not very clear in its aims and objects. He planted the young sapling of nationalism in Kashmir and nourished it under his own tender care and guidance which by the time India came to be partitioned had grown into a mighty tree which provided shelter to many a weary traveller who ran away from the scorching heat of communal fires which were ablaze then in the neighbouring Province of the Punjab. The lesson of nationalism had gone so deep in the minds of the people here that when the time of opting with India or Pakistan came, the leadership of Kashmir which was predominantly Muslim, with one voice declared for India. This was a great victory for the forces of nationalism and an equally great triump for the ideal of secularism.

Pandit Jawaharlal is yet in the thick of the battle. It is plainly visible to anybody that destiny has earmarked many achievement yet for him. But it needs being stated here that he has always had the greatest measure of co-operation available to him from everybody including his own house-people. His sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit who has received her political training and inspiration from her great father, Pandit Motilal, has always worked in close co-operation with her brother. She came to Kashmir in 1933 and was hardly thirty-three then. Least could it be known then that there was such a speak in her soul, which in 1945 produced a blazing fire which burnt to ashes all the evil effects of a vicious propaganda which was set afloat in America by interested quarters with the active cooperation of some Indians, themselves. She was arrested on 12th August

1942 three days after Gandhiji's arrest. After having remained in jail for nearly a year, she was released. In November 1944 she left India and landed at San Francisco in April 1945. The Conference of the United Nations was held in May 1945. India was represented there by Ramaswami Mudaliar and Feroz Khan Noon who were the nominees of the British Government. At the very outset she challenged the representative character of the so-called Indian representation at the Conference and declared "I desire to make it clear that the so-called Indian repesentatives have not the slightest representative character. They have no sanction, no mandate from any responsible parties in India. They are merely British Government's nominees. The newspaper comment on this declaration may be given in the words of a prominent journalist Mr. Iftone, who said that "Indian delegates have been chosen without consultation of Indian parties or political leaders, most of whom are in jail, including the far-seeing Nehru who would have shone even in the gathering of giants." Many Conferences were addressed by her. At one such Conference Mr. Feroz Khan who along with his companion was according to a newspaper report having "Sleepless nights" sent his stenographer Khan to heckle her. The newspaper comments on this episode may be given in the words of Pasbom of the Associated Press of America that :

> "It must have been most uncomfortable for his boss to learn today that the efforts of, his stooge instead of disrupting Mrs. Pandit's press conference have boomranged and Mrs. Pandit has received much wider publicity both at the radio and the press than she might have otherwise. Yesterday's evening papers and this morning's papers have given her a prominent space with pictures. One paper had a big picture of Mrs. Pandit being garlanded by Amritlal Seth and a small picture of Khan with his name and 'enjected from Conference'."

Though a rebel then with no official recognition, Mrs. Pandit created a great and lasting effect in America. At Baltimore she was given the highest official recognition, the Mayor having received her at the station and presented to her the keys of

the city. Besides addressing press conferences and public meetings, she submitted a memorial also to the U.N. Conference and made out a strong plea for an immediate declaration of Indian independence. She was given audience by President and Lady Truman. She entertained the foreign ministers of Egypt, Iran and Saudi Arabia etc. It short even in 1945 she made the voice of India heard in all quarters of the globe.

During freedom movement Mrs. Pandit went to jail a number of times. In 1936 she was elected as a member of the U.P. Legislature and was later appointed as a Minister in the first popular Ministry. She is the first Indian woman Minister. The Ministry was a short-lived affair and had to resign soon after the outbreak of second world war, but yet her achievements in so short a period were in no way meagre or small. For the thoroughness with which she conducted her business as a Minister, she got praises and admiration from all the sundry. What followed next including her election to U.N. Presidentship is a matter of recent history and no detailed reference is called for here.

There is yet another great Kashmiri Pandit, Shri Kailash Nath Katju, whose part in furtherance of the national movement has been indeed great.

A great Advocate and one of the ablest lawyers that Allahabad has ever produced with a very high monthly income, Pandit Kailash Nath enjoyed even before his political career began, a very high reputation for his honesty and integrity. He has ever been known as a person of very deep religious convictions, high moral principles, and ethical standards. Unmindful of the monetary loss and discomforts of a jail life he threw himself whole-heartedly in the national struggle and courted imprisonment more than once. He was appointed as Minister of Justice in U.P. in 1937. After independence he was appointed as Governor of Bengal and later his services were utilized in the Central Cabinet as Home Minister and defence Minister.

There are a good many other Kashmiri Pandits who also have contributed their mite to the national movement. No reference need be made to all of them, but the picture will

remain incomplete if specific mention is not made of two Kashmiri ladies Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and Shrimati Lado Rani Zutshi. Shrimati Rameshwari has always been a true disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. The social uplift work which has been done by her has already created a place of honour for her all over India. Sh. Lado Rani has always been a true Congressite, and she belonged to the first batch of public spirited women who took to Congress work with zeal and seriousness.

There have been other Kashmiri Pandits who though not Congressmen, have also played their part on the Indian political stage. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who for decades remained a leading light of the liberal party has by dint of his clarity of thought and cleanliness of action combined with a great intellectual eminent succeeded in carving a place for himself in the country's history. Even his worst critics have never denied what has been described by C.F. Andrews as "his rugged honesty of purpose". Sir Tej was essentially a great constitutional lawyer. Any mention of civil disobedience or non-cooperation greatly annoyed him. His legal training had made him over-conservative in action. He was appointed as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in 1921 when non-cooperation movement was at its highest, but resigned much before this term of office expired. It is said that the Viceroy (Lord Reading) always relied on his counsel, but Sir Tej was also frank enough in giving quite unpalatable evidence. So for as the harsh treatment meted out to Indians outside India was concerned, Sir Tej always raised his voice in the frankest and most indignant manner against it. He attended as a representative at all the three Round Table Conferences held in England to frame a constitution for India.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru has remained a leading light of the Servants of India Society for quite a number of years and has done good service to the country in an un-ostentatious manner.

There have been a number of Kashmiri Pandits who have contributed their mite to the building of modern India as great educationists. Pandit Jagat Narayan Malla, a leading Advocate

of his time remained the Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University for a number of years. His part in organizing the University has been admitted by everybody. He was appointed as a member of the Hunter Committee constituted by the British Government in 1919 to hold an inquiry into the Martial law regime in the Punjab. By his wonderful cross-examination of General Dyer and others, which created a India-wide sensation then, he exposed in its entirety the holloweness of the Government case. He was later elected to the Assembly and became a Minister under the Dyarchy regime. Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu was the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University and Diwan Anand Kumar had now been for many years as the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. After the partition, the University was well-nigh ruined, but by his assiduous work he succeeded in resuscitating it.

Before closing this chapter reference may be made to the contribution made to the Urdu literature and poetry by the Kashmiri Pandits during this period. Pandit Daya Shankar Nasim, who died in 1843 A.D. at an early age of thirty two is even now counted as a great poet. He has composed a poem Guli Bakawli, which has elecited highest praise from all literatery circles. Pandit Rattan Nath Dar besides being a poet of no mean order has made a collosal service to the Urdu prose. His Fasana Azad, in which he has depicted the life of Nawabs of Lucknow is the first Novel in Urdu Language. To Pandits Brij Narayan Chakbast and Bishan Narayan Dar reference has been made earlier, but then as long as Urdu language lives, the names of Pandits Tribhuwan Nath Sapru Hijr Amar Nath Madan, Janki Nath Madan, Brij Mohan Dattatriya Kaifi, Pandit Hargopal Kaul "Khasta", Pandit Nand Lal Talib, Dina Nath Mast, Master Zind Kaul and about two hundred other Kashmiri Pandit poets will also live as those of great poets.

5

Social Life

Kashmir of old was an haunting place of sages and wise men who practised spiritualism and devoted their time to learning and teaching. They were believed to be of the Aryan race with their first abode in Kashmir. When the population thickened and the search for more land was found necessary, some of these people left this land and went to settle in other parts of the world. The people who continued to remain in this part of the world were known as Kashmiris. Their ways and means of rehabilitation are as old as their history and change with the people living at different places of altitude. Much has been described of Kashmir, about her beauty, climate etc. but of course, with some exceptions, the social side, has been ignored. Upto the 15th of August 1947, Kashmir has all along been effected by many foreign influences and therefore greatly influenced the people also. But with all this great outer pressure of subjection and conversion, most of the people held their banner high and did not submit themselves to this external force and kept to their traditions, thus exhibiting their high sense of character and self-respect.

As stated Kashmiris have Aryan blood and have the same physical features as history describes of them, fair complexioned, physically strong, well built and handsome. Womenfolk surpass men in beauty and are therefore considered as paragons of beauty. Many of these paragons pass unseen and unnoticed

almost because of economic stringency. Truly a poet has well described :

Like apples ripe and many a pear,
That waste away in wild excess
In wondrous valleys of Kashmere,
So much of human loveliness
To dust returns unseen, unknown
Like fallen leaves of roses blown.

Ancient history has described the Hindus the then predominantly inhabitants of Kashmir, as very intelligent people with a high sense of humour and sharp foresight. Kashmir has a high philosophy inasmuch as that people from other parts of the world used to come here to study. Even today the Indian Hindus while performing the holy-thread ceremony are made to walk seven steps towards Kashmir meaning thereby that they are sent to Kashmir for study and then return after completion.

Dress

Kashmiris have a dress of a unique type which will not be found in other countries. It is known as Pheran and Poots used by both male and female with a little difference in tailoring. The Pheran and Poots consists of two gowns, one on the other, and when put on fall to the feet in the case of a Hindu and upto knees in the case of a Musalman. These gowns are generally closed at the neck by strings or by a button. In winter the poots is prepared of cotton and pheran of wool and in summer both are of cotton. The sleeves of these gowns are loose and wide open in the case of Mohammadans and in the case of Hindus these are long and narrow with turned ends but these are also replaced by loose and wide open sleeves. Mohammadan ladies use embroidered gowns while the Hindu ladies have one inch wide ribbon affixed at the neck and at the skirt. Hindu ladies use a coloured preferably pashmina girdle round their waist. For head-dress, during Mohammadan rule, Hindus were given to Moghul type of turban which used to be of 20 years in length. This is now disappearing. Mohammadans also use turbans but most of

them use skull caps especially the farmers when working in fields to save themselves from sunburn. For footwear people were used to wooden clogs known as Khráv and the ladies were used to straw sandles called Pulhor. Hindus do not go into their kitchens with their footwears. A kashmiri lady for head-dress uses a scarf which only keeps her face open and the rest of the head is covered including the neck. Mohammadan ladies use veils also.

Houses

Due to the easy approach to forests, the constructions of houses is an easy affair. These are usually constructed of wood, stones and brick. The ceiling and roof are overlaid with rafters and in between these rafters insertion of small pieces of wood are made. Sometimes the ceiling is artistically fitted in with carved octogonal or hexagonal designs or rectangular pattern forming what is popularly known as Khutumband ceiling. The buildings are often three storeys high. In villages people live in mud huts but since their economic position is greatly improving they have started to construct better type of buildings. The roofs of these buildings are slanting to save them from collapsing during heavy snow-falls in winter. The roofs are made of birch bark with a heavy layer of earth over it. In spring these roofs are seen covered with flowers such as Red Turk's Head and Crown Imperial, Lily wild rapeseed and Lillium present a grand spectacle from a distance. In addition to ordinary shutters these houses are also provided with lattic-work windows which serve a great purpose both during winter and summer months. In summer they are kept open to admit fresh cool air and in winter kept closed to keep the rooms warm. In some of such houses bird tables are kept to feed the birds before the family have the meal. During cold winter months people live in the first storey and in the third storey in summer to enjoy the cool breeze which plays in the higher levels of atmosphere in that season. Kashmiris use mats of bulrush to sit upon instead of tables and chair.

Language

People speak Kashur. It is believed to be an outcome of

Sanskrit language which was later influenced by the language of the ruling princes of their time and by Persian during Mohammadan rule.

We may safely conclude that in the beginning of the early history the language of Kashmiris was Sanskrit. Lalishwari one of the greatest sages of Kashmir whose sayings were composed about 600 years ago are full of Sanskrit words. Even today the influence of Persian is felt inasmuch as that in ordinary course of talking Persian words are used.

Religion

Shrines are in proportion to the population. Every one has his own right of worship. There are two sects of Muslims, Shias and Sunnis. The Shias came into existence in 1486. They form about 9 per cent of the total Muslim population. They have two big mosques in the city of Srinagar besides other mosques in the valley, one is at Hassanabad and the other at Zadibal. Hindus who were converted into a minority during 14th century are worshippers of Shiva. Max Muller has remarked 'the gap left by Vedanta has been wisely filled in by the Shivism of Kashmir'. Shiva philosophy is peculiar to Kashmir. There are two hillocks Hari Parbat and Shankracharia Hill which are sacred to the Hindus and are usually visited on festival days. The earliest Muslim shrine in Srinagar is that of Shah Hamdan Mosque situated in the centre of the city. There are some Churches also for Christians to worship.

Kashmiri Pandits are divided into the two sections : Malmösis and Banamösis.

Ordinarily, Malmasis are those Hindus who live in or around the Himáláyas. Their way of reckoning astronomical intercalary month is different to that of Bánamásis who live in the plains of India and the Deccan.

There was a time in Kashmir when the population dwindled and the Brahmans from the Deccan were invited to settle in Kashmir. Those immigrants are called Bánamásis and the original inhabitants are called Malmasis.

Bán - means the sun.

Mal = dirt that is mistake in calculation.

Hindus observe Lunar calendar for performing rites and ceremonies of their families, and Solar calendar is observed for official routine, and occasionally for rites also.

After two years and a half both calendars are adjusted. Bánamásis have been extra month and Malmasis have another extra month. No rites or ceremonies are performed in those two months. It is not auspicious.

This month is called intercalary month. Bánamásis in their own month and Malmasis in their own month go to Bawan (Martand) Spring to perform shradas to remember their dead relatives.

Hindus and Mohammadans have their own customs. But there are many points of resemblance. On marriages both sects use Mahandi dye the occasion is known as Manzirat. Both accept presents in cash which is called Gulimut (wrist kissing). Economically the people are fairly well off. There is a joint family system. Hindus generally seek employment while Mohammadans are mostly business men. Some people with small earnings maintain their families and also reserve for their daughters marriage, almost at their cut throat, in order to keep the status. At the time of the birth of a child in the case of Hindu exact time is noted to prepare his horoscope which tells the events of his coming life. The bed on which the child is born is known as *Hurr* and the mother of the child is known as *losa*. On the 4th day from the date of the child's birth in a Hindu family sesamum fried in oil and kernels of walnut are distributed among friends and relatives. The child gets his name on the seventh day of his birth. The function is known as *sunder.* A male child is always preferred to female one. A Hindu male child after it attains four years of age is donned with holy thread and a Mohammadan male child is at that age circumcised. In a Hindu family where there occurs a birth or a death friends and relatives do not eat anything there for elevent days. Marriages of the boys and the girls are being performed after they attain the age of puberty. Marriages are being arranged by middle-men. In the case of a Hindu marriage

horoscopes of the boys and the girls are compared. *Dijboor* is the most important ornament to be weared by a Hindu bride besides other ornaments of gold. Mohammadans also use gold and silver ornaments.

While concluding I would remark that Kashmiris possess a strong character, sharp intelligence with diligence. There are some aspects which are common to all people irrespective of their caste and creed.

Gulmarg

Gulmarg is spposed to be a corruption of Gauri Marg...Gauri's Meadow, the goddess Gauri being the presiding deity of a spring found in the place. Gulmarg means a flower meadow and this name was coined by Yusuf Shah, the Tsak king of Kashmir, who used to visit Sonamarg, Gurais valley and Gulmarg with his mistress Habakhutan.

It lies in the North-East of the Pantsål Range under the shadow of Mount Apharwat (13,542 ft. above sea level). Through poplar avenues and rice and maize fields we drove in a car which deposited us at the foot of the upland called Tangamarg,* 24 miles from Srinagar. Whiskered terns were hovering over the rice fields hunting for food in the water and bee-eaters and shrikes were on the telegraph wires watching the unfortunate insects which were to be their victims.

From Tangamarg two ways lead to the marg...one rather steep, a foot path, the other a metalled road with a gradual ascent. The road winds among the blue pines. Here and there were geraniums and dwarf lindolofia. Not very far from the road belladonna was in flower. After a walk of three and a half miles we emerge at the top into an extensive uneven plain. The huts which are generally made of planks are seen buried among the pines. Europeans and Indians come and take refuge under the pines from the scorching sun of the plains.

There is a regular bazar where everything is available. In October 1947 the frontier tribesmen (Pakistani raiders) invaded the place, burnt the huts and murders, arson and plunder took

place. One finds here all the activities of civilization, which rather mar the natural beauty of the place. A large number of jungle crows will be seen busily feeding their young. Green-finches and Gold-finches are seen in swarms in the summer months. The excursionist has ample opportunity to spend his time in the side valleys. For a day's trip he can go to Khellan marg which is 4 miles from Gulmarg and lies at the foot of Apharwat. The path from Gulmarg passes through blue pines and silver firs with an under growth of Viburnum nervosum (Kulim) and Skimma laureola (pator), the leaves of which are sold in winter in the town as a substitute for flowers in religious ceremonies.

Khellan Marg

From Gulmarg to Khellan-marg there is an ascent of about 2,000 ft. in four miles. The path on either side is strewn with flowers. The leaves of the primulas give an idea of the charming beauty the flowers of these plants must possess in early spring. The Geraniums and Salvia hians of stunted growth raise their beautiful heads above the green verdure. The modest forget-me-nots peep out from beneath huge fallen firs to take the wayfarer by surprise. Black crested tits and Willow warblers chirp brightly among the trees, while the Streaked laughing thrushes fly to and fro int he bushes with raised tails. The call of a Cuckoo can also be occasionally heard.

We came to the Marg. It is a flat piece of land above the tree region. It is covered with a plant (Euphorbia Thomsoniana yielding a milky juice). It is called hirb in Kashmiri and is used as medicine by the natives. The Marg stretches as far as the foot of Apharwat. The slopes of this mountain are bare, covered here and there with juniper, rhododendron and alpine flowers. There is also a grove of birch trees. We found a strange kind of willow which creeps along the ground and never grows to a height. Following the Poonch road, we made short cuts through mountain spurs till we rose to the plateau, and leaving the rocky surface on our right and turning a little to the left we rose higher again and saw the coloured gems of nature rearing their heads among the stones. We gathered some flowers for

pressing. We ascended another ridge which led us to the precipitous bank of a lovely tarn with milky blue water, covered in two places with ice. This lake is called Alapathör (12,600 ft.). We ascended the highest peak of Apharwat (13,542 ft.) to have a look at another small lake, the whole of which, except a small portion, was covered with snow. Here we found on sandy soil a plant called Paraquilegia. One can see clearly the watershed between the Ningal, the Bonyar and the Ferozpore Nalla. We saw a moving speek on a distant ice-bed and the coolie told us that it was a bear.

We descended to the Alapathör lake where same of us had a swim. It reminded me of Mr. R.D. Thompsom and his party swimming in Tar-Sar (12,800 ft.) There were some visitors from the plains on the lake. They were invited to join us. But they shivered and remarked, 'Well, if we go in, who will carry home our dead bodies ?' We had a hailstorm which lasted for a few minutes. The beach of the lake was covered with Saxifraga flagellaris and Androsia. A Rock chat was heard singing on the other side of the lake.

If you speak loudly it creates an echo and the valley resounds. How I wished Col. G.B. Sanford, the expert musician, could have played on his violin here rather than at Geneva; the whole place would have been turned into an orchestra !

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* Derived from Tankadareni goddess who lifts Tanka weapon.

6

Arts and Crafts

The arts and crafts of Kashmir have been justly renowned, for centuries, all over the world. They consist mainly of handicrafts like woollen textiles of fleecy soft texture and infinite fineness in weaving, delicate embroidery work in silk and wool, hand-woven carpets of finest warp and woof, lovely painting in wonderful designs on papier mache goods or on wood, fine traceries in wood-carving, deft weaving in willow-wicker, and superb metal-work. Of the cottage industries the most flourishing is that of wood carving—which is not only beautiful but also of great utility, and which finds a ready and expanding market throughout the world, especially for work suited to modern requirements (such as screens, drawing and dining rooms sets, smoking cabinets, and other articles for personal use) which are exquisitely manufactured in well seasoned walnut-wood. An entirely indigenous form of wood-work (known as khatambundi) is used for the decoration of ceilings, which is done in panels of pine-wood in various geometrical designs, fitted together in grooves. Another important cottage industry is the making of numerous useful and pretty articles of wicker-work.

The surroundings of Srinagar are so beautiful that it is not at all surprising that the city has long since evolved, unique, artistic craftsmanship. There is scarcely a cleverer artisan than the Kashmiri, who with primitive tools, turns out highly artistic

and beautiful articles. The fame of Kashmir shawls, the whole of one of which will pass through a signet ring, has for centuries past spread to the farthest ends of the earth; its finest embroideries rival those of the best French seamstresses, its carpets compete successfully with the Chinese, Iranian, Turkish ones, its silver-ware compares favourably with that turned out by the most fashionable shops in London, furs that delight the fair sex and might have come from Paris, and countless other articles of use and adornment, which are made to perfection. It is but natural that a country which attracts so large and influx of visitors annually, as does Kashmir, should also turn its attention to the manufacture of such articles as tourists chiefly require. Even the common workers of Srinagar are versatile craftsmen, and the visitor will rejoice to behold carpet and silk weavers, embroidery-makers, leather-workers, and gold, silver and coppersmiths busily engaged in plying their trades under the very gaze of the visitor—working with a quickness and concentration, which would astonish him.

Reviving the Ancient Art-Manufactures of Kashmir

That Kashmir was well known, from ancient times, as much for the beauty of Nature as for its arts and crafts, is evidenced by what Ree's Encyclopaedia (1819) had to say about the ancient glory of the craftsmanship of Kashmir : "There seems no reason to doubt that the Romans were well acquainted with the shawls of Kashmir, which are fabrics of a brilliant and beautiful texture. The history of their manufacture is proof of a very high degree of perfection to which the fabrication of woollen cloth had been carried on in former times, for shawl is only woollen cloth woven without a twill and unmilled, but it is spun to so great a degree of fineness, from wool peculiarly soft, that it has never been rivalled by European nations." And the British were so enamoured of the beautiful shawls of Kashmir, with curious designs embroidered with the deft fingers of Kashmiri artisans, that in the treaty of 1846 (between the Kashmir Darbar and East India Company) it was one of the items that every year Rs. 8,000 worth of shawls and rumals the Darbar would have to send to the British

Sovereign of India, and this is done even up to this day.

But this fascinating Kashmir craft received a severe blow, when the taste of the rich people in India became divered, and the cheap and fragile imitation goods produced by foreign exploiters began to be dumped on the Indian shores. As a result of lack of patronage, the prosperous craftsman of old Kashmir had to abandon his hereditary trade, and become an ordinary labourer where his artistic talents could no longer be utilized. Thus came about the decline and fall of that astonishing ancient craftsmanship of Kashmir. The great national revival in India, which began in 1920, had for one of its chief planks the encouragement of handicrafts and cottage industries, more especially those of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Dying crafts were revived all over India, and the skilled fingers of her craftsman and artisans, that had remained idle for long, began to ply again and produce articles of beauty. The powerful wave of national revival reached Kashmir also, and her dying crafts were resuscitated. In the whole of India a demand arose for Kashmir goods, and the market for them was no longer restricted only to the foreign tourists.

In this great work of putting new life into arts, crafts and cottage industries, in Kashmir, as in the rest of India, the All-India Spinners' Association had played a meritorious and prominent part. The Kashmir branch of this Association, opened at Srinagar, in 1928, is known all over India for its excellent art-manufactures, and the demand for its products can hardly be met, although production increases continuously. One should not, therefore, fail to visit the principal production centre and show-room of the Kashmir branch, at Srinagar. A woollen mill had also been lately established—called Shree Karan Singh Woollen Mills Ltd.—which turns out excellent cloths of wool, and also of pashmeena. The State had purchased 5½ per cent. preference participation shares of the company in lieu of the amounts advanced to it, and the total amount of share capital now held by the Government amounts to about two lakhs and a half. Though with these facilities the company will be in a better position to show satisfactory results, yet it is not likely that it will be able, in the near future, to replace the vast out-

turn of art-manufactures in woollen textiles, for which Kashmir has been justly famous for centuries.

The Textile Industries of Kashmir

(a) Shawls

The centre of textile craftsmanship in Kashmir is Srinagar. As the country is a wool-growing, and not a cotton-raising one, the textile industry is chiefly based on wool. It is a curious fact, however, that the State produces little wool fibre, it being grown largely in Tibet, from whence supplies are transported to Kashmir. The most beautiful of the renowned Kashmir shawls are produced by three methods : by embroidering upon a plain foundation cloth; by weaving the pattern as an integral part of the foundation cloth, subsequently embelleshing it with embroidery. The first is the most expensive method, but does not necessarily produce the most artistic results. The following account of the Kashmir shawl industry (from the Magazine of Art for 1901, Vol. 25, p. 452) gives an idea of the decline of this once great industry.

"The magnificence of the celebrated hand-worked shawl of Kashmir received its first and fatal check through the outbreak of the Franco-German war. Previous to that the demand for these fabrics was so great, in France, that a special agent from Paris resided at Srinagar for the sole purpose of superintending their purchase and export. The siege of the French capital effectually prevented further commerce with Kashmir, at the time. The retirement of the French Empress as a leader of fashion from France, and the exigencies of the war conditions, ruined this trade as far as that country was concerned. Before the commencement of the war a special class of workmen (the shal-baf, or the shawl-worker) was accustomed to spend years on the outturn of single first-rate specimen. The material was the main item of cost, the fine pashmina wool selling in Kashmir for its weight in silver. Daily labour cost little, and whole families were employed together. The Kashmir State still sends an annual tribute of six shawls to the British sovereign. Carpet and silk factories have sprung up to replace the shawl looms, and the shal-baf is practically extinct."

(b) Other Woollen Textiles

The country people of Kashmir clothe themselves chiefly in a heavy woollen fabric named pattoo, and, in addition, require heavy woollen blanket, loie. These fabrics are largely made from hand-spun, coarse, wool yarns. The All-India Spinner's Association is now engaged in developing the highest technical skill in the production of tweed cloths of much better quality than ordinary pattoo and loie. The Department of Industries has been steadily guiding the pattoo-makers in improving their products. Since the State Government had recently sanctioned a scheme for the manufacture of pattoo cloth, for supply to the Government of India, this industry had received a great impetus, and several centres for weaving and spinning had been opened at various places, throughout Kashmir. A very substantial degree of improvement has been effected in the matter of texture and strength of the fabrics. As the two types of textiles for which Kashmir is renowned are shawls and carpets, there are about two dozen shawl factories at Srinagar, and about half a dozen carpet factories. The most interesting industry is the pashmina in which the fine undercoat fibre of the ibex, or Kashmir goat, is spun into extraordinarily fine yarn and woven into an equally fine texture. This texture forms the basis of the beautiful Kashmir shawls, which are frequently woven in many colours and finished by hand-embroidery.

(c) Hand-woven Carpets

As the wool yarns required for the carpet industry are not now available in the State, they are, therefore, imported from European countries. The carpet industry, which is one of the largest in the State, the annual production of which is valued at about thirty lakhs of rupees, thrives exclusively on export trade with America and Europe. But the yarns employed by the carpet factories having to be imported from Europe, the local wool not being of sufficient good quality, and the leading firms being owned by British capitalists, a large share of the profits go outside the State. Carpet-making was first introduced into Kashmir by the then king, Zainul-ab-din, who ruled from

1423 to 1474. The Kashmiri, whose imitative instinct was developed to a marvellous degree, reproduced in works of art Nature's beautiful sceneries with which he was surrounded. The carpets of Kashmir, however, soon deteriorated. The modern craze for cheapness, by the use of aniline dyes, spoiled it, as well as other works of art, with the result that the quality of the material was not equal to that of the past. An endeavour was made in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh to improve the industry. A British trader came to Srinagar, about 1876, but he failed to satisfy a critical test. Then came a Frenchman who introduced fresh designs, but he also suffered loss, and abandoned it. After the Frenchman's departure the industry was taken up by another European, whose factory was subsequently purchased by a British firm—Messrs. W. Mitchell and Co., and is now carried on successfully as the East India Carpet Factory. Another British factory was started later by Messrs. C.H. Hadow and Co., and is still in large business. Both these factories produce excellent carpet of old designs. The best and the largest Indian concern is the Kailas Carpet Company, the workmanship of which is admirable, and compares favourably with that produced by the British-owned carpet factories.

Carpets with as many as 400 knots to the square inch are now made at these Srinagar factories; silk and pashmina wool are sometimes used to bring out the more delicate shadings in the designs, and the stitch with which the Iranian weavers used to give their carpets density, has been successfully adopted. Herati and Kerman carpets have also been extremely well produced, and the Yarkandi pattern very successfully imitated. The patterns now chiefly used are copies from the illustrations of oriental carpets published by the Imperial and Royal Austrian Commercial Museum of Vienna, and special attention is paid to make the colours fast. The manufacture of carpets in Kashmir is capable of great future before it, if only the vegetable dyes, which are available in abundance on the surrounding hills, and whose soft and permanent colouring of the old shawls is still the admiration of the world, were used again. The hand-made carpet industry of Kashmir is now the single largest

industry in the State. Although the work is done by hand, the industry is highly organised, and has all the essentials of a large-scale modern concern. Directly or indirectly, about 12 per cent of the male population of Srinagar earn their livelihood from this great industry. The cheaper varieties of carpets are naturally in greater demand than the more expensive ones, which are mostly sold in Europe and America. The annual subsidy paid to the carpet trade by the State had been extended from time to time, alike in the interest of the carpet industry and also of local labour, so as to preserve an ancient and famous industry.

(d) Gabhas

Another allied industry—which is located almost entirely at Anantnag, and the only one outside Srinagar—is that of making gabhas. These are woollen fabrics made of pattoos—to be used as floor-coverings, bed-spreads and table-cloths. The background is of diverse colours and is covered—in whole or in part—by highly ingenious geometrical and other designs, either by means of embroidery of stitching. If lined which with some suitable and durable cotton material (like ticking) they last for years. More expensive than the felt numdahs, they are very much cheaper than the hand-made carpets. In Europe worn-out woollens are torn up into fibres, and re-spun and woven into "shoddy"; but in Kashmir, they are used to make pattoo cloths and gabha floor-covers, or patchwork rugs.

Worn out loies (blankets) are the chief material from which pattoos and gabhas are made. Loies which are in fairly sound condition are used for the manufacture of pattoos, but those that or only good in patches are utilized for gabhas. The sound portions are cut out, milled and dyed, and are then cut to various patterns, and then pieced together, in various geometrical designs. They form most attractive multi-coloured rugs, and are eminently suitable for use in house-boats, tents, verandahs, and for general household purposes as they last, with proper use and care, for quite a long time. Gabha-making is confined to but one place in Kashmir, namely Anantnag (or Islamabad), though agencies for sale exist in several other

towns. Being on the main road to Martand and to the sacred cave of Amarnath, thousands of visitors and pilgrims pass through Anantnag every year, and they are large purchasers of gabhas which keep the business not only alive, but in a flourishing condition, while the labourers (employed mostly from the surrounding villages) thrive on its manufacture. Of late years the quality and appearance of these rugs have greatly improved, and their output is continually increasing.

(e) Numdas

In addition to the manufacture of carpets, there is, in Kashmir, a most interesting "carpet-rug" industry, based upon milling up or felting partly woven fabrics, and then figuring them with embroideries in a most ingenious manner. Some really beautiful patterns for floor coverings are placed on the market by this means, and are in evidence throughout Kashmir, especially in houseboats. The Srinagar market is flooded with them. These "numdas", as they are called in common parlance, are very warm, if used, as bed-mattresses, and make excellent coverings, which have steadily held their own even in these machine-ridden times. They are embroidered in numerous designs, which come so naturally to the Kashmiri artisans, who trained from their childhood to the dexterous use of their hands, produce intricate designs of embroidery work to perfection on the numda rugs, which are one of the chief articles of export from Kashmir to America, alike for their prettiness and durability.

The numda is mostly imported unembroidered from Chinese-Turkistan, though that of an inferior kind is felted at Srinagar also. Heaps of numdas are brought to Srinagar, and unloaded at a specially provided serai where the State charges the necessary duties on import. The serai itself is a place of great interest, full of queer merchandise, and strange Ladakhi merchants. The plain numda then undergoes a set of processes—dyeing, designing, embroidering, washing and finally baling—before it is ready for export and for being shipped abroad. The business is carried on by several concerns, both with Indian as well as

foreign capital. Though they make excellent floor-cloths not only in houses and house-boats in Kashmir, but anywhere, their one serious defect is that the hairs begin to fall out as the rugs get older. But for it they constitute almost ideal floor-coverings and bed-mattresses.

(f) Sheep Farming, and Sheep Leather Goods

Lastly, it may be added that with a view to improve the woollen textile industry, Research and Commercial Sheep Breeding Farm had been established, at Banihal, not only to develop the sheep-breeding and wool-growing industry, but also to carry on research work to advance the commercial prospects of this great industry. The State had granted a subsidy to the Farm of Rs. 72,000 for a period of six years, for the present. Another allied organisation is the Kashmir Sheep Farm Limited, which has carried on successful experiments on cross-breeding, as a result of which there has been a notable improvement not only in the quality of wool but also in the weight of fleece. It is expected that as the result of the successful working of these two organisations, these may be an appreciable improvement in the texture of the woollen fabrics, and also a considerable expansion in their trade.

The sheep of Kashmir, and especially of Ladakh, are valued for their skins, which made into jackets keep the wearer warm even in Polar cold. As such, sheep are the chief asset of the folk up north. The skins are first stretched out on boards, and kept in the sun for drying. This is not as simple a process as it seems, and only experts at the job can do the work satisfactorily. For disinfecting and curing the skins various chemicals are used. The skins are scraped with big knives to remove impurities, and made smooth and soft to the touch. They are softened by constant pressure, and then receive a further scraping, which means hours of labourious work. The war-time demand for these skins has created a new industry, in Kashmir, which gives employment to a fairly large number of people. Thousands of sheepskin jackets, caps, and gloves, have been supplied to officers in the Navy, and a big order had also been placed by the authorities of the United States army. Apart from the

manufacture of jackets, caps, and gloves, odds and ends of the skins come in handy for various utility articles, which Kashmir workmen are expert in making up. They turn out a fine range of finished articles, such as bags, cushions, purses, teacosies, shoes, and bed-room slippers. Purchased until lately as noverlities by tourists, sheepskin has now started as an industrial product, and seems to have a great prospect before it.

(g) The Silk Industry

The largest and most important industry under the control of the State is sericulture, and the Srinagar Silk Factory is the biggest of its kind in the world. The three salient features with regard to sericulture in Kashmir are abundance of mulberry trees, suitable elevation, and favourable climate. A review of the textile industries of Kashmir would, therefore, not be complete without detailed reference to sericulture, and the remarkable developments in silk production. The industry in usually one of the principal sources of revenue to the State, and there is apparently no reason why it should not prove in future more profitable. No authentic information can be gained of the actual condition of the silk industry in Kashmir before the middle of the nineteenth century, though scanty references can be found to the subject in such old and standard works as Abul Fazl's Aieen-e-Akbari (or the Institutes of Akbar) and the Tuzak-e-Jahangiri (or the Memoirs of Jahangir). Apart from them, however, no other reliable data is available on the subject, till the middle of the nineteenth century.

The sericulture industry since 1846, when Kashmir came under the control of the ruler of Jammu, has had many ups-and-downs, and its long history, for now over a century, is a chequered but not an inglorious one. The State authorities have evinced much interest in it. Under the guidance of British experts, sericulture continued to flourish in Kashmir until 1913, when a disastrous fire practically destroyed the whole factory. This catastrophe caused an entire cessation of operations, and threw out of employment all the hands, numbering thousands. The outbreak of the Great War, in 1914, followed shortly

afterwards, and the event not only closed the European markets, but resulted in heavy expenditure owing to the large increase of freights. In the beginning of 1914 another British expert was appointed Director of the concern, and proceeded immediately to reconstruct the factory. It was not till 1918 that the work was completed, and the factory was in full swing again. In 1922 an experiment was made with a set of four reeling basins of the most modern type, ordered from Italy. This experiment having proved successful, two filatures were equipped with upto-date machinery, and started working in 1925. Since then large quantities of silk yarns had been turned out, which compare favourably with those produced elsewhere. In Europe the chief markets are Britain and France; and in India, the large cities of Ahmadabad, Amritsar, Benares and Multan. The silk produced is distinctly superior in quality to any other Indian silk, but needs further expenditure of labour upon it to bring it up to the Chinese or the Italian standard.

The Silk Factory at Srinagar which (as mentioned above) is the largest of its kind in the world, obtains its electric power from Mahaura, and brings in a large revenue to the State. About 4,000 men, women and children are employed daily in it, while no less than 150,000 people take silk worms's eggs from the factory, rear and bring in their cocoons, and receive a remuneration of approximately six lakhs of rupees. Permission to visit the Factory has to be obtained, but it is prohibited to take any photographs. The careful manner in which the silkworms's eggs (seed) are examined microscopically, to ensure a healthy crop, shows that, under proper guidance, Kashmiris are well fitted to exercise the scrupulous care absolutely essential in this, one of the world's most interesting and important industries. Though silk is being woven by hand in Kashmir at the present time, that is not sufficient, and the country might produce by machinery more perfect stuff than it can produce by hand. In the fulness of time, Kashmir should provide, both for itself and for other countries, the silks which are now being exported by Japan, China, and some European countries.

The organisation of the industry, under State control, dates back to the eighties of the last century, and it enjoys a position

of unique importance not only in British India, but also in the whole of the British Empire. No other country is endowed by Nature with such facilities for the success of the silk industry as is Kashmir. The climate, the economic condition of the people, and the tradition of art, are all most favourable assets which hardly leave anything to be desired. It is not surprising, therefore, that with all these advantages the progress made by the industry had been remarkable. And yet while much has been done, much more still remains to be accomplished, if it is to continue to live in the face of serious competition with China and Japan, which threatens its very existence, at present. The industry affords means of livelihood, wholly or partially, to no less than 50,000 families in the State, and its great importance and utility are thus obvious.

Kashmir now produces annually about 24,000 ounces of silkworm seed, all cellular, 40,000 maunds of cocoons, and 2,50,000 pounds of raw silk, besides silk-waste of different kinds. The quality of raw silk is the highest available in India, and is comparable to the "classical" of Italy and the "petit extra" of France—the two most advanced sericultural countries of Europe. Recently a Silk Weaving equipment consisting of 32 power looms. The services of a European expert were engaged for the purpose of erecting the factory, which had been so designed as to manufacture high-class silk fabrics. With the facilities offered by the Kashmir Sericulture Department, the new concern is likely to be quite successful before long. Until lately Japan supplied a large proportion of the world's silk demand, and sold its goods of that article at rates which other countries found unprofitable to compete at. The supply from Japan having now been cut off, owing to war conditions, silk weaving has received a stimulus in Kashmir, especially for the manufacture of parachute cloth; and a second weaving plant has lately been opened at Srinagar. The Sericulture Department had been reorganised in 1942. Mulberry plantations had been largely extended. The construction of seed houses, the establishment of Research Institute, and the holding of Sericultural Conferences, had also been provided in the re-organisation scheme. The Silk- Weaving Factory having been burnt down,

in 1942, a new factory was constructed, at Raja Bagh, which is receiving due attention from the State Government.

Papier Mache

Papier mache was long synonymous with the very name of Kashmir, and numerous articles—from dressing tables to toilet sets, finger bowls, candle-sticks, and boxes for various purposes—used to be manufactured of paper-pulp and lacquer. It is even now of great interest to watch a skilled artisan at work on painting or drawing, and reproduce it faithfully in beautiful colours on the article made by him in imitation of the old system on paper-pulp. Though, papier mache articles are no longer manufactured—except to order—those now made in wood, and coloured in imitation of the old papier mache, equally serve the purpose. These also are made (like the carved walnut goods) both for household furnishing and personal use. Of late, the manufacturers have introduced brass-lining for the new style of papier mache bowls, which renders them of greater durability and utility, especially in the case of flower-vases. But at Kashmir papier mache, which had long been a flourishing industry, had lately been slowly declining, it needs to be revived; otherwise, a thriving and picturesque industry will have irretrievably disappeared, and a creative art lost for ever. Papier mache is now produced on a commercial scale only to order. The decline of the industry was due to the removal of the supervision by the State, and of the taxation then imposed. There being no State control, competition had lowered prices, and led to the production of cheap, inferior articles. The major portion of Kashmir papier mache today is merely painted wood, which has cheapened the cost of production, and altered the entire character of the goods. Hence the expediency of a serious effort being made by the Industries Department to revive the genuine, old, papier mache industry.

7

Society and Religion

From the literary works of Kashmir we get a picture of the society of the valley and the religion of the Kashmirians. The top class was the Brahmanas, and the low class was constituted by the Kiratas. Nisadas, Dombas, Candalas etc. The Brahmanas pursued their usual study, teaching, performance of religious rites for themselves as well as for others. The temple-priests, of whom there appears to have been the large number, lived upon the revenue yielded by the villages dedicated to the temples. The Brahmanas in general received gifts from people on ceremonial occasions and got *agraharas* or landgrants from kings for their maintenance. Besides these usual means of livelihood, some of the Brahmanas accepted political and military service also.

The Kiratas, descending from the Tibeto-Burman stock, and the Nisadas appear to have lived chiefly by hunting. The Dombas, sometimes associated with Candalas, appear to have earned their livelihood by hunting, singing, dancing and menial service. They were looked down upon by the Brahmanas. The Candalas lived by fighting, working as royal body-guards, watchmen and executioners.

The society of Kashmir consisted of a motley population in which we find teachers, astrologers, physicians, agriculturists,

industrialists, tradesmen, labourers and various other professionals. The economy was largely agricultural. Between the tillers of the soil and the king there were the Damaras who were the feudal landlords. Gradually the Damaras became so powerful that they sometimes defied royl authority, and even played the rôle of king-makers. From the tenth century onwards they appear to have been a very powerful factor for the kings to reckon with. With the territorial expansion of Kashmir there was naturally an increased volume of trade, and merchants came to be a rich section of the population. With the decline of trade and commerce after about the ninth century A.D., the merchants took to money-lending, and harassed the public by various exacting methods.

Besides the above classes of people, there were the royal officers. Of them the dignitaries like the Sarvadhikara (Prime Minister), Sachiva (Minister), Mandalesa (Governor), Kampanesa (Commander-in-chief) and princes serving at the royal court constituted the upper stratum. They were affluent, lived a life of ease and luxury and sometimes owrted estates. The middle stratum was constituted by the Kayasthas who occupied posts of varying importance, e.g. Grhakrtyadhipati (Chief executive officer of internal administration), Paripalaka (Provincial governor), Gañja-divira (Accountant General), Niyogin (Supervisor of villages and Parganas), Nagaradhipa (Head of urban administration), Saulkika (Customs Officer) etc. Thus they were the principal parts of the bureaucratic machinery, and taking advantage of their positions they took to all sorts of dishonest means in order to extort money from the people. Kalhana in his *Raja-tarangini* and Ksemendra in his *Narmamala* paint the Kayasthas with the blackest hue.

The Kashmirian society shows evidence of polygamy though monogamy was, perhaps, the ideal. Kings had many queens besides concubines, and aristocrats also had women in their keeping. Some of the queens of Kashmir played on active and effective rôle in the administration of Kashmir. Girls before marriage appear to have received, at their house, training in the seience of love, music, dance, painting, needlework and various other arts that go to make an efficient housewife.

Widows were expected to lead a life of austerity. Of the custom of women, including queens, burning themselves to death on the funeral pyres of their husbands there are many instances. Prostitution appears to have been common. There are descriptions of depravity on the part of women both in the royal seraglio and among certain classes of people. The institution of Devadasi, or a girl dedicated to dancing in a temple, existed in Kashmir as in many other parts of India.

Literary evidence points to the prevalence of serpant-worship in the valley from a remote antiquity. The Nagas were held in such veneration that the Karkota dynasty traced its descent from Naga Karkota. There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, of Kashmir having been a great centre of Buddhism which perhaps entered the valley as early as the third century B.C. to a great extent over-shadowing the Naga-cult. Buddhism gathered a momentum at the time of Asoka of whose empire it was a part, and reached the peak of development in the Kusana period. It was at the time of Kaniska that the fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir were some important Buddhist treatises were composed and Buddhist scholars of great eminence flourished. Itself a stronghold of Buddhism, Kashmir played a significant part in the spread of this religion to lands outside India up to Central Asia and China. This religion had a powerful hold on the Kashmirians throughout the Hindu rule over the valley.

Buddhism spread in Kashmir no doubt, and, to some extent, threw into background the indigenous faiths. But, side by side with this religion, the Brahmanical religion also flourished in the valley. Kashmirian Saivism, which might have made its way from the Indus Valley or developed out of the Rudra-Siva concept of the Vedic period, perhaps, dates back to a period remoter than the introduction of Buddhism. Of the existence of Saivism in the pre-Asokan days there is literary record. It has been widely prevalent through ages climing many kings amongst its followers. Countless shrines in honour of Siva were erected not only by Hindus but also by some Buddhists, e.g. by Asoka himself. The history of Kashmir Saivism is, however, a chequered one. In the early period it belonged to

the Pasupata sect. Based on Tantras, it propounded dualism. It took a new garb in about the eighth century when, in pursuance of the Advaita system, it began to preach idealistic monisn. The works, on which the new system was based, passed current as Trika Sastra subdividing itself into three branches, viz. Agama-sastra Spanda-sastra and Pratyabhijna-sastra. The Agama-sastra comprised a number of such old Tantras as *Malinivijaya, Sudra-yamala* etc. The Trika system was considerably developed, and received a clearer exposition in the Spanda-sastra or *Spanda-karikas* probably written by Kallata of the ninth century. One Somananda was responsible for the Pratyabhijna-sastra. It was his business to uphold Saivism by systematic and critical argumentation. Somananda's treatise was a need of the hour, because Buddhism was now a powerful force and it had to be combatted. The highly philosophical Trika system, with its abstruse literature, failed necessarily to appeal to the masses. The result was that, while it was confied to the intellectual class, the lower class clung to the more popular Pasupata Saivism.

Side by side with Siva. Visnu was also widely worshipped. It is difficult to asset when Vaisnavism first made its appearance in Kashmir, but of its existence in a developed form since the sixth century A.D. there is no doubt. Numerous images of Visnu were consecrated, and temples built in honour of him. Besides the masses, many members of the successive royal dynasties also became devotees of this deity. Kashmirian Vaisnavism combined in itself the elements of the Vedic Visnu, the Pañcaratra sect, the faith of the Satvats and devotion to Gopala Krsna.

Siva and Visnu were not the only deities worshipped in Kashmir. The people of the valley believed in, and worshipped, also some other deities of the Indian panthaon, e.g. Surya, Ganesa, Durga etc. Sculptural remains and literary avidence testify to the prevalence of the worship of these deities as well as some others including Kamadeva or the god of Love. The worship of Sakti in various forms like Durga, Sarada etc. has been proved. The discovery of images of Sapta Matrkas (seven mothers) is an incontrovertible evidence of the prevalence of

the Sakta cult.

Kashmiris have easy and pleasant lives. In time of danger they show much courage and endurance. Physically they are among the finest people on earth. Their physique, their character and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality of its own. Intellectual superiority, keenness of perception, clearness of mind and ingenuity dominate their character. Alert intelligence, quick wit and artistic feeling show in them signs of a bright future. They are essentially of mild and cheerful disposition. Their versatile genius wins laurela for them everywhere. They are extremely hospitable and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. Sir Francis Younghusband remarks 'In spite of the splendid Moghuls, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras the Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and science they are no inferior to he Persians. They are also very active and industrious'. It is possible for a people to deteriorate under foreign yoke and that is why a Kashmiri did not mind to speak a lie sometime†. Men and women generally dress alike. The Pheran‡, a long loose gown, is the principal item of their dress. This helps to breed cowardice inthem. Without in they look like a fine race. Untouchability between the two sister communities is quite unknown. However you may annoy him, the Kashmiri will never attempt to offend you. To provoke his neighbour is not in his scheme. Recent events have shown that the Kashmiris are not timid. Isolation from the outer world accounted for the stable unchanging nationality of the Kashmiris till Pratap Singh's reign'. Cunningham says that 'Kashmiris are the most immortal race of India'.

Says Dr. Neve : 'On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish between right and wrong'. As recorded in the Rucat-i-Alamgiri-Aurangzeb is believed to have said at Agra : 'The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in Public offices'. Writes Dr. Neve of the Pandits elsewhere : 'Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehensions and have good memories. One of their besetting faults is conceit. But

some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clearheaded and industrious'. A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of most superior order in every respect. 'The Kashmiris resemble the Konkanasthas and their countries also resemble as they both produce rice which accounts for their intelligence. But in two respects the two people differ. The Kashmiris are eaters of flesh from ancient times and have not given up flesh eating even now. The Konkanasthas appear to have been vegetarians from ancient days. The former again usually wear the beard but the latter do not (beard looks rare now). Beards in Kashmir are ancient and pre-Mohammadan as we have already seen from Kalhana's description of Brahmins collected for the election of a King'.

The following passages from 'The India We Served' by Sir W.R. Lawrence who worked in Kashmir for some time will be read with great interest. 'The Kashmiris are called Hawabin. Nowhere in the East have I met anybody of men so clever and so coourteous as the Kashmiri Pandits. The people were Kashmiris as they are, in spite of centuries' of repression and wanton cruelty. Physically they were splendid, in spite of the effeminate dress which foreign tyrants had imposed on them. As cultivators, as artisans and as artists they are unrivalled in the East and for brains the Kashmiri Pandit is hard to beat, as all India knows well. They are to be found in many provinces of British India and in the Indian States in the higher ranks of officialdom. And I say after careful examination that he Kashmiris are perhaps as great a people as any in the East. But they will beat all three—Rajputs, Pathans and Punjabis as cultivators, as artisans or as wits. I saw also the growth of self-respect and of manliness and am confident that under a just Government they will win a good name. They not only know the facts but had the most surprising genius for appraising the real value of other men's lands. They supported their valuation by most logical and convincing arguments and during my 21 years in India I have never met the equal of these Kashmiri sages'.

'The type of the old Pandits—these literati were; to be sure, excellent people and admirably versed in their Sanskrit texts but they were devoid of historical sense and their intellectual

horizon was bounded by the narrow limits of their native valley..., but the race possessed exceptional intellectual qualities'.—Prof. A. Foucher.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his book 'History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, 1924 edition, page 415,' writes : 'So backward were the people in civilization that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were deemed unfit to be employed in the Imperial Service as Mansabdars, till near the end of Aurangzeb's reign'. We learn that it was only in 1699 that the Emperor was first induced by the then Subedar to appoint people of Kashmir as Mansabdars in any appreciable number.... No Kashmiri Hindu gained any office under the Moghul Empire. And as for the common Muslims of the province if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages, and townsmen as lying flatterers and cowardly cheats. In this universal closing of honourable and responsible careers to talent, the intellectual cleverness of certain classes of the natives developed into glibness of tongue, low cunning and skill in treacherous intrigue so that in Moghul India a Kashmir came to be a by-word for a smooth spoken rogue as the Gracculus was in the early days of the Roman Empire'. Prof. Sarkar says that this account is based on Tarikh-i-Azmi. How this observation is misleading may be studied from the following quotation : Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to the intelligence of the Kashmiris specially that of the Pandits at Agra as is recorded in the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri : 'Kashmiri darin mulk nestand ki ma muqqarar kunem' (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

Sir Walter again writes : 'A man who can be beaten and robbed by any one with a vestige of authority soon ceases to respect himself and his fellowmen and it is useless to look for the virtues of a free people among the Kashmiris, and unfair to twist them with the absence of such virtues. The Kashmiri is what his rulers have made him, but I believe and hope that two generations of a just and strong rule will transform him into a useful, intelligent and fair honest man'.

Roughly speaking from 13th to 19th Century the Kashmiri

Pandit was reduced to the position of a surf. From high intellectual plane he moved to earth and became practically earthly. He tilled land, digged graves, became a tailor, mason, carpenter, petty shopkeeper and what not. His survival was a miracle. His poverty could be seen in his kitchen which boasted of some utensils of clay that could not be replaced even on festival days. With the change in administration he seized some petty jobs. This further aggravated his situation. He came under the vicious influence of *Khandani* and *Kamina*. He gave up his profession and became a parasite. Vices overpowered him which prevented him from rising into full manhood even with the spread of modern education.

8

History of the Valley

In prehistoric times the whole valley of Kashmir is supposed to have been covered by one enormous sheet of water, of which the Wular lake to-day is the last remaining trace. And even this is gradually drying up as the outrush of its waters at Baramulla wears away the gorge through which the Jhelum escapes from the valley towards the distant sea. At some remote date the waters of the lake, aidded by supernatural forces, are supposed to have burst though the hills near Baramulla and to have forced a passage to the plains of the Punjab along what is now the valley of the Jhelum. After this catacrysm the lake dried out to a large extent and the valley began to assume its present form. The fresh water fossils, which have been found in many places high up on the hill-sides; the beach marks that can be clearly distinguished by the expert eye on some of the mountains that border the valley; and the curious fan-like plateaux, locally known as Karewas, which are supposed to mark the various levels of the water, all help to confirm this theory. However, these conjectures are really only of academic interest and need not detain the visitor in search of what the country has to offer to-day.

From this very remote period until the early years of the fourteenth century, Kashmir was governed by Hindu rulers, except for several comparatively short interludes, the most

important of which was when the country fell into the hands of Asoka, who is supposed to have founded the city of Srinagar. Asoka also introduced Buddhism, which was at that time the most virile and wide-spread religion throughout Northern India. Later its force gradually waned and it completely died out in Kashmir many centuries ago. To-day it has its stronghold in the barren uplands of Ladakh and Tibet, where it still flourishes.

So far as we can tell from scanty records, these Hindu rulers appear, on the whole, to have been fairly just and merciful, according to the standards of the time, and during at any rate considerable portions of this long period, the country must have enjoyed a fair measure of peace and prosperity. The remains of solid stone temples, built of massive blocks of blue limestone and assigned by archaeologists to dates within this period, which are still to be seen in many parts of the valley and which contrast strongly with the ramshackle, if picturesque, wooden buildings of the present day, could only have been built by a people who had attained to a considerable degree of prosperity, and who had enjoyed long interludes of peace and leisure in which to evolve so highly developed a culture. The country, too, must have been thickly populated, as no mere handful of people could have required, or indeed have built, the number of temples of which the ruins may still be seen, and whose survival through so many eventful centuries postulates a far larger number to have originally existed. But whether this peace, prosperity and culture spread downwards to the peasantry and humbler townsfolk is more than doubtful, and it appears only too probable that even then they were subject to the injutice and oppression, which was to be their lot under subsequent dynasties.

After Asoka the name of Lalitaditya, who flourished about 700 A.D., has been handed down as the most famous king during this long period. Much that is told of him is legendary and he may fairly be compared with our King Arthur, but it is considered fairly certained that it was in his time that the temple at Martand was built and that he extended the Kashmir sphere of influence far into Central Asia.

A hundred years later Avantivarma, the founder of the city of Avantipur, whose site to-day is marked by massive ruins and a squalid village, led the country along the path of prosperity. After his death the history of Kashmir sinks into a long tale of court intrigue with one weak king succeeding another, until the centuries of Hindu rule came to an end in 1323, when Renchan Shah, a Tibetan by birth and an adventurer at the court, raised a successful rebellion and usurped the throne. The Brahmans in an ill-advised moment refused to admit him to the Hindu faith, and shortly afterwards he embraced Islam with consequences that were disastrous to the Hindu section of the population. For the next ninety-four years the temples and idols of Siva were ruthlessly destroyed, the Brahmans were forcibly converted to Mahommedanism, and those of the people who obstinately continued to profess the Hindu faith were so savagely persecuted that the religion was almost completely stamped out.

However, when Zain-ul-Abadin, who was to reign for more than half a century, became king in 1420 for a time more moderate councils prevailed. He made for himself so great a reputation as a tolerant and enlightened monarch that his name has been handed down to succeeding generations endowed with legendary powers, and even to-day it is a household word in the country. He is supposed to have introduced the manufacture of the once famous Kashmir shawls by importing wool from Tibet and workmen from Turkestan, and the manufacture of papier mache articles, which still remains an important industry, is believed to have been started in his time.

After his death the advantages that the country had enjoyed under his enlightened rule rapidly disappeared, and the Chaks, a family of turbulent and unscrupulous chiefs, who had become the most powerful influence in the country, reduced it once more to disorder and despair. So that when tales of the rich vale that lay behind the mountains bordering the sun-scorched plains of the Punjab came to the ears of the Moghul court, and Akbar despatched a strong expedition to subdue the country, little effective opposition was made and Kashmir fell completely

into his hands by 1586.

The Moghul emperors were not slow to appreciate the beauties and temperate climate of their most lately acquired province, and it soon became, as it were, a watering place for the Delhi court and its fame spread far and wide. The great emperor Akbar himself visited the valley on more than one occasion, and the wall, which still exists round the hill of Hari Parbat, was built under his orders. In the reign of Jehangir the famous gardens, some of which are still in existence and which even in their present decayed state are one of the sights of the valley, were laid out along the shores of the Dal lake. But, as the power of the Moghul dynasty waned, the governors sent from Delhi became so much the more oppressive and corrupt, and the country once again fell into its only too usual condition of disorder and anarchy.

Eventually the influence and protection of the Moghul Empire became no more than nominal, and when a Pathan army, under the leadership of Ahmad Shah, appeared in 1752, they met with little difficulty in overrunning the country. It was the that the wretched Kashmiris, who for ages past had been inured to grinding taxation and pitiless tyranny, drained the cup of misery to its dregs, until, unable to endure the appalling savagery of their Afghan rulers any longer, in 1818 they appealed to Ranjit Singh, who even then had already become famous as "the Lion of the Punjab," to come to their aid. Their appeal was not in vain, and in the following year his forces entered the valley and were so completely successful that before long the Sikh flag was flying from Hari Parbat.

This change in rulers, though an improvement on the previous state of affairs, can hardly have met with the unqualified approval of the wretched population, nine-tenths of whom, after centuries of persecution by a Mahommedan government, had become converted to the religion of their rulers, only to find themselves now once more in the hands of Hindus but little, if at all, more tolerant in matters of religion than the tyrants who had preceded them.

Accounts of this time, written by contemporary Europeans

and giving a vivid picture of the hopelessness and misery of the population, are to be found in the books of Vigne and Baron Hugel, who describe at length their travels in this strange land, which, at the time of which they wrote, had not been visited by more than two or three Europeans.

At the death of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh army, which was quartered in Srinagar, mutinied and murdered the Governor. This mutiny was quelled in 1841 by Ghulab Singh, who was then one of the most prominent generals in the Sikh army, and who, after successfully dealing with this rebellion, became the virtual ruler of Kashmir, though he still acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the court of Lahore, until after the battle of Sobraon in 1846, which marked the final overthrow of the Sikh forces by the British.

Ghulab Singh was a Dogra Rajput and his native country was the small and once independent state of Jammu, situated among the foot-hills bordering on the Punjab, and which had been in the hands of the Sikhs for a number of years. The Sikhs found small outlying states, such as Jammu, difficult to control, and in order to increase the security of their hold over them, they adopted the wise policy of keeping the most influential of the inhabitants in their employ. Ghulab Singh, who had quarrelled with the then Rajah of Jammu and who had served for some time in the Sikh army, where he had quickly attained distinction, was obviously a person to be placated of possible.

He was first made Governor and a short time after Rajah of Jammu, where he found ample scope for his enormous energy in reducing the affairs of that state to order, and in leading expeditions against the ruling chieftains of Baltistan and Ladakh, both of whom he subdued. He also engaged himself in conducting tortuous, and to modern eyes highly doubtful intrigues, which resulted in his gaining possession of the province of Kishtwar without striking a blow. Thus, at the outbreak of the war with the British, he has ruler in all but name of the provinces bordering on Kashmir and his sphere of influence almost completely surrounded the prize that he

had in view as the ultimate object of his ambition, namely the rich and fertile valley itself.

At the close of the war, during which he had managed to remain neutral and had acted as a mediator between the opposing forces, the whole of these provinces were ceded to the British as one of the terms of peace. As a reward for the valuable work done by him in the course of the negotiations between the British and Sikh governments prior to the treaty of Lahore, a separate treaty was concluded with him immediately afterwards, by which the British Government, acting on the advice of Sir Henry Lawrence, made over to him the independent possession of the whole of the mountainous country that lies between the Indus and the Ravi. This, of course, includes almost the whole of present-day Kashmir, Baltistan, Ladakh and Kishtwar. In exchange Ghulab Singh agreed to pay to the British Government seventy-five lakhs of rupees and promised to make an annual tribute of one horse, six pairs of shawl goats and three pairs of the most perfect Kashmir shawls.

In this manner the country came into the hands of its present rulers. At first sight it will appear amazing that the British Government should have agreed to part with this rich and fertile country immediately after it had fallen into their hands, and for so trifling a sum, but it must be remmebered that, when Lord Hardinge was conducting these negotiations, the Punjab had not yet been finally subdued, and that India was still in the hands of the East India Company, who were primarily interested in commerce. At that time Kashmir was practically unknown to Europeans and was separated from the plains of India by several days's journey along rough and narrow mountain paths. As there was then no road, the possibilities of developing the trade of the country to any profitable extent must have appeared very slight, while the difficulty of effectively governing so remote a province in the unsettled conditions that prevailed throughout India at that time would have been almost insuperable.

Ghulab Singh did little to improve the deplorable condition of the country. The first years of his reign were fully occupied

in consolidating his position, and soon after, his health, worn out by his strenuous life, began to fail him, and for some years before he died in 1857 he was a complete invalid. His last public act on hearing of the outbreak of the mutiny was to offer the resources of the State to the British Government and hospitality to any European women, who might require a safe refuge.

His third son, Rambhir Singh, who succeeded him, and who turned out to be a much weaker ruler, was fully occupied during he first years of his reign in helping the British to quell the mutiny, and was not able to give much attention to the affairs of his country. While he was king Gilgit, which had been conquered previously but lost again some years before, was permanently occupied, with somewhat doubtful advantage to the State, which had the difficult and costly task of maintaining the long lines of communication with this distant outpost This was only effected at the expense of much suffering on the part of the population, who were forced to supply labour for the up-keep of the Gilgit road and for the transport of supplies; labours which were attended by so much hardship and loss of life, that men setting out for such work bid farewell to their families with but little hope of ever seeing them again.

Rambhir Singh was a great admirer of European methods and institutions. He made several efforts to introduce reforms in the shape of state dispensaries and primary education after the European model, but without any very great measure of success, as he lacked the obstinate determination which was necessary in order to introduce reforms successfully to such a backward and naturally conservative people.

The last years of his reign were greatly affected by the results of the appalling famine of 1877, which decimated the country. He died in 1885 and was succeeded by his eldest son Lieut.-General H.H. Maharaja Sir Pratab Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Since 1885 Kashmir has enjoyed peace and a measure of prosperity and has made steady progress under the careful and enlightened rule of the late Maharaja, aided by a number of British officers, experts in various branches of administrative

work. Among these, perhaps the most famous was Sir Walter Lawrence, who conducted the land settlement, which gave the peasants of Kashmir a security of tenure and a moderation in taxation that they had never dreamed of in the past.

The present ruler, Colonel H.H. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., nephew of the late Maharaja Sir Pratab Singh, succeeded his illustrious uncle in September 1925.

9

Society and the State

In addition to the land revenue other sources of the income of the state consisted of ferry-toll, bridge-toll, tax on imports and exports, cess on arts and crafts (*rasum-i-hirfa garan*), on boatmen and the produce of lakes (*rasum-mirbahri*), tax on fire-wood (*wan-waziri*), on cattle (*gawshumari*), and on trees (*sar darakhti*). The *begar*, or forced unpaid labour, was demanded from the adult male villagers particularly. Then the Hindus paid the cremation tax and the *jizya*, while the Muslims paid the *zakat*. Zain-ul-Abiden and Akbar abolished most of these taxes, particularly, the cremation tax, the *jizya*, and the *begar*.

But unscrupulous and grasping Mughal and Pathan governors introduced new taxes. For example Itiqad Khan (1620-23) introduced the system of *begar* for collecting saffron flowers, levied tax on fruit trees, and enhanced current taxes. The Pathan governor, Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-83), introduced burdensome taxes, such as *zari niaz* (presentation-tax), *zar-i-Dudah* (chimney-tax), *dagh shal* (tax on shawls), and *damdhari* (tax on bird-catchers).

Land Revenue

Land revenue was the main source of the income of the state. Shahmir fixed the land revenue at one-sixth of gross

produce. Zain-ul-Abiden maintained this practice. His successors charged one-third.

After Kashmir was annexed to his dominion by Akbar its revenue system was overhauled. The entire country was measured and assessed. In 1589 Akbar entrusted this work to Shaikh Faizi, Mir Sharif Amuli and Khwaja Muhammad Husain. They fixed one-third of the autumn produce (*kharif*) as the share of the state for each *patta* of land was fixed at two *takes* of the gross produce. The annual revenue was assessed at 22 lakh *kharwars*.

Soon, however, this assessment was found to be based on fictitious returns because Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, the governor, had concealed facts. Thereby he had defrauded eleven lakh *kharwars*. A second assessment was, therefore, carried out under the supervision of Husain Beg Shaikh Umri and Qazi Ali. The entire country was divided into 41 parganas. The revenue of each pargana was settled both in cash and kind. Then lands held by the solidery for their maintenance were resumed and they were paid in cash. The total revenue was fixed at 30,63,050 *kharwars*, 11 *traks*.

Naturally this arrangement was not welcomed by the governor, his personal staff, the ryots of Kashmir and the soldiery, because all of them had been in the habit of concealing a sizable portion from actual produce. They protested and also raised a revolt in 1592. But they wre humbled. The procedure laid down by Akbar continued unchanged till 1819 when Muslim rule ended in theory.

Administrative System

Under independent sultans the administrative system was feudal. The sultan was the apex of the whole organisation. He was assisted by a council of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, the *umara* and the *ulama*. Their appointment was made by him. They held jagirs in lieu of the services they rendered to the state in times of peace and war. The personality of the sultan determined his position and prestige. A strong sultan like Zain-ul-Abiden dominated over the council. But his weak successors (1484-1540) were dominated

and controlled. They were treated as robots by the leaders of the party in power, who acted as wazirs or prime ministers.

In normal times the wazir was the most trusted lieutenant of the sultan. Rinchan Shah appointed Shahmir his wazir. Thereafter the post was generally held by the brother of the reigning sultan. Zain-ul-Abiden departed from this practice. After the death of his brother Muhammad Khan, he appointed Tilakacharya, a Buddhist, his wazir.

Then there were the provincial governors. They were known as *mandalesa* in Hindu times. The post of a provincial governor was important, responsible and lucrative. The strength or weakness of the central government depended, to a large extent, on their attitude and character. Hindu rulers were especially particular to select officers of admited integrity, loyalty and efficiency for the posts of provincial governors. Raja Jayasimha (1128-55) nominated his heir to the throne as governor of the important province of Punch. Shahmir followed this practice. Zain-ul-Abiden appointed his two sons, Adam Khan and Haji Khan, to act as governors of Kamraz and Punch respectively. His two immediate successors, Haidar Shah and Hasan Shah, also followed this practice. Under the party system of government (1484-1540), provincial governors were the trusted lieutenants of the wazir. The office ceased after Kashmir lost her independence.

In the district (pargana) administration the most important and powerful officer was the malik. The other important officials were the tahsildar, patwari and *muharrir-i-adalat*, known as *niyogi, gramadivira* and *ashtadivira* respectively under Hindu rulers. A brief description of their respective functions and character has historical interest since they reflect the unchanged character of the village administration fron ancient times. The chief revenue and judicial village officials, mentioned below, continue to suffer from the ancestral itch to make money by fraudulent means even at present. They coerced the ryots and practically fleeced them.

1. Tahsildar (Niyogi)

He was the chief executive and judicial officer of a district

and controlled the administration of its villages, checked the revenue, inspected roads and canals, and looked after their maintenance. Ksemendra depicts him as a merciless person who inflicted harsh punishments on the villagers. For example, he confiscated property, imprisoned people and levied *bagar*. He collected blankets, ghee, salt, pepper, pulses, fruits, shoes, wooden chowkies, and other articles of household use from the villagers as bribe.

2. Patwari (Gramadivira)

He was expert in making fraudulent entires in the village register in order to help those who bribed him and harm those who did not. He was as grasping as his superior officer, the Tahsildar.

3. Muharrir-i-Adalat (Ashtadivira)

A typical *muharrir-i-adalat* (court superintendent) has been described by Ksemendra as a vicious, extremely selfish and fraudulent official who did not spare even his son-in-law, if he was involved in a criminal case. He was a man of low character spending his nights in drinking and debauchery. His only aim in service was to amass property by means of bribery and fraud.

Among the officers who remained very close to the sultans, after the loss of independence to the Mughal and Pathan governors, mention may be made of the *dewan, bakhshi, qazi, mir adal* and *mufti*. The *wazir* and *sipahsalar* disappeared after the loss of independence. The Mughal and Pathan governors themselves performed these functions. Similarly, the office of the *vakil* (ambassador) also disappeared with the independent sultans. It was first created by Sultan Sikandar in 1398 when he sent Maulana Nur-ud-din Badakhshani as his vakil to Timur. Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1540-50) also sent his vakil to the court of Sultan Rashid Khan of Kashghar. The vakil became a permanent feature of administration during the reign of the later Chaks (1562-85) when Akbar began to take increasing interest in the internal affairs of Kashmir. In 1568 Akbar sent Mirza Muqim as his first vakil to the court of Husain Shah Chak. Ali Shah reciprocated the courtesy and sent Muhammad

Qasim as his vakil to the court of the emperor. When we consider the circumstances under which the sultans of Kashmir appointed their vakils at the foreign courts, it cannot but be admitted that they did so as suppliants and not as strong, independent sovereigns.

All the above-mentioned officers were hereditary, usually son succeeding to the office of the father. Dismissals were rare; but it was an age of favouritism and corruption. It is indeed amazing to note that in character and outlook all these officers continued unchanged for moe than one thousand years.

With the establishment of the Mughal and later Pathan rule in Kashmir, foreign officials came to take charge of the different departments of administration in increasing numbers. The official hierarchy gradually expanded and new portfolios came into existence though they were not permanent. Each governor brought with him his own secretariat staff. The Kashmiri proverb, *'Yelib Yamsand Subabdeer Teleb Tamsand Pesbkar'* (Every subahdar came with his own secretariat staff), explains this principle.

The head of government was the *subabdar* (governor). His chief advisers were the *naib* (deputy-governor), *sabibkar* (chief secretary), *dewan* (controller of revenue and finance), *qanungo* (settlement commissioner and revenue remembrancer) and *pesbkar* (personal assistant). The governors were invariably Muslims; so were their chief advisers. Raja Sukhjewanmal (1754-56) was the only exception. Under the Pathan rule (1753-1819), however, there were occasions when Kashmiri Pandits held the posts of revenue collectors, chief secretariest and personal assistants. This was not the case under the rule of the Mughals (1586-1752). They held the Kashmiris in contempt. They were totally debarred from military service. No talented Kashmiri was appointed a *mansabdar* or gazetted officer. It was for the first time in 1700 that Fazil Khan as governor (1697-1701) succeeded in persuading Aurangzeb to appoint a few Kashmiris on inferior administrative posts. Otherwise they discharged the duties of low-paid inferior officials in the revenue

department such as *patwaris, muharris* and *mahaldars* because no non-Kashmiri was found available or suitable. This policy of imperial preference led to serious consequences. The Kashmiri talent rusted and their character and outlook suffered a transformation.

City Administration

The health and happiness of the city population were the foremost concern of the administrators from early times. Though the seat of government in Srinagar changed from time to time, the city on the whole remained unchanged. Laid out on both sides of the Jehlam river it is situated within easy approach of the picturesque Dull lake and the beautiful view of the eastern mountain slopes. The panoramic beauty of the Dull lake always made it a very favourite place for excursions. The lower slopes of the mountain overlooking the lake were laid out with beautiful gardens in Hindu times. The great Mughals and their governors followed the practice. They laid out terraced gardens of exquisite beauty and charm. We are told that there existed some 700 gardens around the Dal lake when the Pathan rule was established in 1753.

The internal administration of the city was controlled by the city prefect, who was designated as *nagradhikrta* by the Hindu and *kotwal* by the Muslim rulers. He looked after the health, happiness and general security of the inhabitants of the capital and also controlled the markets and all sorts of corruption. Zain-ul-Abiden took pains to lay-out the city keeping in view the principles of health. He appointed *darogha-i-amarat* whose functions were analogous to the modern town-planner. Mirza Haidar Dughlat was simply astonished when he saw the city at leisure in 1543. He found it largely populated. There were many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of them were five-storey high. Each storey contained apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The streets were paved with hewn stone. There were only shops of retail dealers—grocers, drapers, etc. There were no large bazars, for wholesale business was done by the traders in their own houses or factories.

Neither the Mughal nor Pathan governors made any

alterations in the general pattern of the old city. Akbar's governor, Muhammad Quli Khan, laid out the new town which he called Nagar Nagar, on the eastern slope of the Hari Parbat hillock, to accommodate the Mughal nobility and solidery. In 1597 he also started the construction of the wall around the new town.

The Pathan governors similarly laid out a new town for their official residence at Darabagh, in the Amirakadal quarter of Srinagar, enclosed by a fortified wall whose ruins are extent. The fort on the top of the Hari Parbat hillock was built by the Pathan governor, Ata Muhammad Khan, to accommodate the cream of the Pathan soldiery.

Under the Mughal and Pathan rulers the general lot of city population does not seem to have improved, rather it had begun to deteriorate gradually. These resourceful rulers seem to have taken no interest to improve the sanitary condition of the city. During his visit to Kashmir in 1783, Forster found 'the streets of Srinagar narrow and choked with the filth of the inhabitants'. Moorcroft, who visited Kashmir in about 1823, that is only four years after the overthrow of the Pathan rule, had a sadder experience. He gives a closer picture of the condition of the city which shows the amount of deterioration and decay that had set in under cruel and grasping Mughal and Pathan governors since 1707. He writes : 'The general character of the city is that of a confused mass of ill-favoured buildings, forming a complicated labyrinth of narrow and dirty lanes and having a small gutter in the centre, full of filth, banked up on each side by a border of mire. The houses are mostly in a neglected and ruinous condition with broken doors or no doors at all, with windows stopped with boards, paper or rags...all a striking picture of wretchedness and decay.'

Economic Conditions

Rural Life

Kashmir is essentially an agricultural country. Large tracts of forests, pastures, alluvial soil. and abundance of water sustain agricultural economy. The main source of production is land. The agricultural implements are few and simple. They consist

of a plough of wood, an irontipped plough-share, wooden mallet and draught cattle. There is also the wooden spade to dig out turf clods, the light had hoe to weed and loosen the soil and the universal pestle and mortar to pound *shali*.

Agricultural land is generally irrigated by canals which are fed by ever running mountain streams. The geographical position and natural formation of the valley render irrigation easy and abundant. There have been no violent dislocations of economic life. On the whole, life has been stereotyped and extremely simple, frugal and continuous. In normal times and under favourable administration, the Kashmiri peasant was the most contented creature. He remained self-reliant and hardy. He believed in the maxim, *'Yus Karib gonglu sui Karib Krao'*, meaning 'he who ploughs shall reap'. Convulsive political changes and official oppressions, on doubt, made him a fatalist. He took misfortunes and calamities of life with angelic equanimity. All the same, misfortunes of life and the natural position of the country made him sullen, desperate, suspicious, superstitious, vain and cowardly. In normal times he remained generally lively, ingenious, witty and of good humour—the 'Neapolitan of the East'. His smiles were bigger than in Delhi or Kabul. He had an inner contentment and a capacity to come to terms with himself and his environment.

Situated amidst natural panorama of hills, dense growth of trees, alluvial fields, and a stream running by, the Kashmiri village, economically speaking, was a self-sufficient unit. There has been the same harmonious coordination among its special groups of workers as we find in an Indian village. The husbandman, the womenfolk, the carpenter, the weaver, the black-smith, the potter, the cobbler, the washerman, the shepherd, the *won* (grocer), the *galadar* (corn-dealer) and the *pir* and *faqir*, who have all been connected with the village economy, contribute their share individually as well as collectively, to the economic stability of the village. The periodical *urs* (fairs) gave to the remotely placed villagers opportunities to meet and exchange their commodities.

Produce of Land and Water

Most of the cultivation is done on land, but the lakes too furnish large quantities of food-stuffs. The chief autumnal (*kharif*) crop consists of rice, maize, cotton, millet, buck-wheat, pulses and sesame. Wheat, barley, opium, poppy, flax, peas and beans belong to the spring (*rabi*) crops.

Rice has been the staple food of the population. The rice harvest depends on special conditions to ensure a full measure of success—heavy snows on the mountains in winter to fill the streams in summer; good rains in March, and warm days and cool nights in the following months, and absence of rain while harvest is ripening. Otherwise, there is famine and famines killed thousands. Zain-ul-Abiden attempted to introduce the cultivation of sugar-cane, but the experiment did not succeed.

Among the products of water, 'singhara' (*trapa-bispi-nosa*), or horned waternut, locally called *gor*, possesses great food value. It ripens in October. A large quantity grows in the Woolar lake. In 1865, the total produce from this lake alone was estimated at 60,000 tons, which served the purpose of food for 30,000 persons for five months. The second article of food of spontaneous growth in the lakes is 'kanval' (*nymphaea-lotus*), know as 'bhin' to the Punjabis, 'nadur' in Kashmir and 'kawalgata' in rest of India. Next is the 'jowar' (*euryale ferox*), known as 'makhane' in northern India. It possesses great food value.

The famous floating islands in the Dull lake, Anchar lake and Woolar lake are a specimen of the wonderful inventive genius of the Kashmiris. They are made of local reed and rush-like material of the lakes. They are nowhere also to be met with in the world except in the Titicaca lake in Peru, South America. The Kashmiris grow abundance of cucumbers, melons and vegetables on these islands.

Yet another important aquatic product is fish which is found in abundance. It has formed an important article of food from ancient times. There are more than eleven varieties of fish in the rivers and lakes in the valley.

Fruits and Flowers

Kashmir is a country of fruits and flowers. Perhaps no country in Asia has greater natural facilities for horticulture. Among the indigenous fruits mention may be made of apple, pear, grape, mulberry, walnut, quince, cherry, peach, apricot, respberry, goose-berry and straw-berry. About the quality and quantity of Kashmiri fruits Mirza Haidar Dughlat wrote in 1541 : 'Pears, mulberry and cherries are met with but the apples are particularly good. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break one's resolution. Among the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees (cultivated) for their leaves from which silk is obtained. In season fruit is so plentiful that it is rarely bought and sold. The holder of a garden and the man that has no garden are alike, for the gardens have no walls, and it is not usual to hinder anyone from taking the fruit.' Within less than a decade of Mirza Haidar's death in 1550, however, restrictions on fruits appear to have become so stern that Ghazi Shah Chak (1554-62) ordered the hand of a boy of seven to be cut off for stealing fruits. Akbar and Jahangir introduced certain fruits of Kabul and Kandahar and took pains to develop the fruit industry. When Itiqad Khan (1622-32) as governor requisitioned private fruit gardens he compelled people to destroy their orchards, root and branch, in sheer frustration. He was dismissed by Shahjahan for his high-handedness.

Saffron

Among flowers, saffron (*crocus-sativus*) has had considerable commercial utility. From early times saffron of Kashmir has been famous. It has been in great demand both for purposes of condiment and pigment. Saffron pomade and saffron ointment are repeatedly mentioned by Kalhana as a royal privilege.

Saffron is chiefly cultivated in the neighbourhood of Pampur along the right bank of the Jehlam river between Litapore and Sempore villages. According to Abul Fazl, it was also cultivated in Indarkot on one mile long plot. Perhaps he was misinformed, because Jahangir contradicts his statement when he writes : 'In the whole country of Kashmir there is saffron only in Pampur.'

We read that Colonel Mian Singh (1821) as governor of Kashmir, in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, made an experiment to cultivate saffron on the slopes of Damodhar Udar and Martand, but it was not a success. Outside Kashmir it grows in Kishtwar.

Saffron was a royal monopoly. Under independent sultans, saffron flowers were picked by compulsory labour (*begar*). Men were pressed; they were made to separate saffron flowers from the petals and the stems. And they received only some salt as remuneration. A man who cleared two *pals* of flowers received two *pals* of salt. Under Ghazi Khan Chak picking of saffron flowers by compulsion was discouraged. Those who were employed to pick the flowers were given eleven *traks* to clean, out of which they received one *trak* as their wages. For the remaining ten *traks* they had to furnish two Akbarshahi seers of clean dry saffron, i.e., for two Akbarshahi *mans* of uncleaned saffron two seers of cleaned saffron flowers were demanded.

This cruel contract-system was abolished by Akbar in 1597. After his death, however, men and women were once more compelled to pick the flowers; they were given only some salt as remuneration. When such cruelties came to the notice of Shahjahan he abolished the system by royal proclamation. He ordered that saffron belonging to the *khalsa* (crown land) should be picked by men who should be suitably remunerated. But he allowed jagirdars, who had their own saffron fields, to pick the flowers as they liked. Under Pathan rulers saffron produce was auctioned. The highest bidder deposited money into the government treasury; then he collected the flowers and sold them as he pleased. The same practice was followed by the Sikh and Dogra rulers. Suffron picking is a very arduous job; its fragrance causes severe headache and often unconsciousness too.

Industries

If Kashmir is celebrated as the choicest beauty spot in Asia, the Kashmiris by their natural instinct or gift rendered themselves famous as excellent artisans and craftsmen. During the winter when all means of communication and transport

came to a standstill cottage industries formed the means of livelihood of the majority of the inhabitants, both men and women. They took full advantage of the natural resources which they had in abundance, and fulfilled the truth of the saying, 'labour is the father, and natural resources the mother of wealth'.

During the period under review many cottage industries of considerable importance and commerical value were developed. The Kashmiris manufactured textiles, writing paper, and the famous papier-mache articles, etc. They had deft hands for wood-carving, stone-work, stone-polishing, glass-blowing and willow-work. They also distilled wine and extracted essential oils. Bernier paid a glowing compliment to them when he wrote in 1663 : 'The workmanship and beauty of their...(wood work) and other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies.*'

Most of these industries were introduced and perfected in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. Himself a man of profound imagination and foresight, Zain-ul-Abiden patronised some master artisans and craftsmen of Persia, Samarqand and Bokhara, and settled them in Kashmir. They popularised their special arts and crafts among the Kashmiris. Thus he kept both men and women gainfully occupied during winter months, particularly, without idling away their time and living at the verge of starvation. And he rendered Kashmir a museum of some excellent arts and crafts. Srivara gives a first-hand valuable account of the manufacture of carpets and silk fabrics in the time of this great sultan. Mitza Haidar Dughlat was wonder-struck with the excellence of Kashmiri arts and crafts and the artistic genius of the Kashmiris. He writes : 'In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most countries uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (*tabdan-tarashi*) and gold-beating, etc.' He found them in abundance in this country. He concludes : 'This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden.'

Besides Srinagar, which became gradually the emporium of a variety of handicrafts, other towns, i.e. Anantnag (Islamabad),

Sopur, Bandipur, Shupian, Zainagir and Kulgam, in particular, specialised as centres of some flourishing cottage industries. They bring us face to face with the old artisan, the methods of administration under which he worked, and his ingenious hands and ideas.

The spinning wheels and the power behind them were the symbols of ancient and poetic simplicity of Kashmiri life. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving was the basic, universal and elegant occupation of the women especially. Economically one of the most paying occupations, it kept more than 80 per cent women busy at the wheel. While it was the means of livelihood for the poor, women of rich and middle-class families prepared *pashmina* articles for their domestic use and, at the same time, remained gainfully engaged. Then the art had poetry and education behind it. The women recited legends, religious anecdotes and historical tales to their children while spinning. A description of some specific arts and crafts calls for notice :

1. Pattu

Rough wool is called 'yer' and the woollen stuff *pattu* in Kashmir. All articles of clothing for men and women before the Mughal rule were made of this stuff. Thereafter cotton cloth began to be imported in large quantity since cotton continues to be insufficiently produced locally.

The *pattu* industry appears to have been well-organised during the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. Even now the famous Zainagir rugs are in special demand. The warm woolen rugs (*lois*), *ekbari* and *dobari*, i.e. in one piece or two pieces, the *chadar-i-khudrang* and *qalam-pattu* were and continue to be in great demand and earned a considerable sum of money. They are the only cheap warm stuff suited for winter. The famous Kashmiri *gabbas* (switched carpets) are made of worn-out pieces of rugs. After dyeing the pieces in different colours and cutting them in various geometrical designs they are stitched together and made into beautiful carpets. While best *pattu* rugs are manufactured in Bandipur, Sopur and Zainagir, Anantnag is famous for best *gabbas*.

2. Shawls

Kashmir was perhaps most famous throughout the world for her shawls. The wool, locally known as *kilphamb*, of which the shawls are textured, is found upon goats, yaks and dogs on the Pamir terrain. It is exceedingly fine, and so warm that it protects these animals from excessive chill and blizzards. For centuries the Kashmiri craftsmen manufactured shawls whose superfineness became almost legendary. There is no magic in the fact that a complete shawl (ring shawl) could be pulled through a signet ring. The secret lay in the natural superfineness of the wool which was imported from Thanshan (Pamir mountains) and the artistic perfection of the Kashmiri weavers.

From time immemorial shawl-wool was imported from Tibet and Ladakh. During the nineteenth century Kashmir imported 1,28,000 lbs. annually. It is the finished embroidered shawl that has rendered Kashmir famous in the world. The demand for Kashmiri shawls was at its highest in India during the Mughal rule.

From the day the shawl-wool dealer *pasham farosh*) supplied coarse hair to women in the valley to spin till the shawl-weaver (*shalbaf*) returned the finished stuff, its history was long and indigenous. The various intricacies entailed in the process of shawl manufacture and the superfineness of the finished stuff rendered the shawl a valuable article of trade.

Shawl-wool had considerable economic and commercial advantages to Kashmir. From the moment it was purchased in Ladakh or Tibet till it came in the finished form from the weaver and the embroiderer, nearly fifteen different families, who were associated with the various processes of its manufacture, earned their living by it. It achieved international importance and was in great demand in Europe. After the Franco-German was of 1870, however, its demand in Europe gradually decreased. But, simultaneously, the demand from India began to increase. Since the instrusion of China into Tibet, in 1956, the export of shawl wool from Tibet has became so restricted that this valuable industry may soon disappear from Kashmir unless some alternative source is made available.

It was Zain-ul-Abiden who rendered shawl manufacture a flourishing national industry. From his time Kashmiri shawls began to be exported to India first as present and subsequently as an article of profitable trade. There were several types of finished shawls, *jamawar* being the best. Akbar called the finest shawl by the name of *'parm narm'*. From the time he annexed Kashmir (1586) the shawl became a coveted article of Mughal luxury, and its price varied from a couple of hundreds to several thousands. At the height of the Pathan rule in 1783, 'the price at the loom of an ordinary shawl was eight rupees, and a very fine piece was sold at forty rupees.... But the value of the commodity was largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work...which raised the price to one hundred and fifty rupees.' In 1835, when the Sikh rule was fourteen years old, a finished flowered shawl cost three thousand rupees.

3. Silk

Mention of silk clothings is made for the first time in the reign of Zain-ul-Abiden. That the silk worm was introduced into Kashmir by Mirza Haidar Dughlat is wrongly supposed by European travellers. Mirza Haidar Dughlat as ruler of Kashmir (1540-50) found the silk stuff already in existence here. He writes : 'Among the wonders of Kashmir are the quantities of mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk is obtained.' According to Jahangir, Kashmir imported silk-worm eggs from Gilgit and Tibet. But silk industry, it appears, was not organised like the shawl industry as a commercial enterprise because its demand was not so large. In course of time, it began to replace the shawl industry from the beginning of twentieth century. Today it is the most thriving government-controlled industry and the means of livelihood of many people.

4. Paper

The process of making rag paper was first discovered in Samarqand. It was introduced into Kashmir by Muslim refugees from Persia and Samarqand between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The industry received personal attention and patronage of Zain-ul-Abiden, when he established it in Nowshahr, his official residence. Gradually it expanded and became popular.

The Kashmiri rag paper was in great demand in India during the Mughal and Pathan times. Some of its polished specimens were known as *farmashi, dahmashi, kalamdani* and *rangmaz.* It could be washed, dried and used again. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi in his letter addressed to Abdul Qadir Badauni writes : 'If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing on which can be washed from the paper as completely that no trace of the ink will remain as you yourself have seen.'

But rag paper had no lasting properly. It could not last long unless it was suitably preserved. The Kashmiri copyists did not use it for copying precious documents. They used their own ancient and indigenous paper, the 'bhoj patr' (*betula Tartarica*). They prepared it from the inner bark of the Himalayan birch whose supply was inexhaustible. Abul Fazl observes : 'The people of Kashmir write chiefly on *tux,* which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some art and which keeps for years.' It was in great demand in the time of Akbar. The Pandit writers and copyists used it until the end of the nineteenth century. Small sheets were used by *jotshis* and *pirs* for amulets. There is a written *bhoj patr* sheet in the Srinagar Museum dated 1576. It is 22 ´ 14 inches. It is perhaps the earliest extant specimen available. It is the *Wasiyat-namah* (Succession deed) of Hazrat Mukhdum Shaikh Hamza. That 'bhoj patr' as well as the writing on it stands immersion in water remarkably well was the experience of the late Sir Aurel Stein. His box containing the *Codex Archetypus* of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, which was written in 1649, fell into the sea in the Ostende Harbour through the carelessness of his porters in 1890. Fortunately, he succeeded in recovering it. He writes : 'The soaking with sea water left no perceptible trace in the codex. Kashmiri paper of the old make stands immersions of this kind remarkably well and the ink used to this day by Kashmirian Pandits for their Sanskrit manuscripts is in no way affected by water.'

Whether the rag paper or *'bhoj patr'* industry, it was the means of livelihood of a large number of Kashmiris, both

Muslims and Pandits. While the industry engaged a considerable number of unskilled illiterate workers, a large number of literate skilled workers earned their bread by copying Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts. According to the dependable account of the young and enterprising French traveller and scientist, Victor Jacquemont, there were in 1831 some 700 to 800 copyists in Kashmir. 'They work only on orders...they transcribe the *Quran* or the *Shahnamah*, and a very small number of other books which are the objects of a small but regular trade. The best are paid one rupee for every thousand couplets of the *Shahnamah* or *Hafiz*. Their maximum speed is 200 verses, and they consequently earn three annas a day. The trade in manuscripts was more extensive under Afghan rule.'

Arts and Crafts

Willow Work

Kashmir has an abundance of mulberry and willow trees. The willow industry is a special feature of the cottage industry. The Kashmiri deft hands make wonderful things of the willow sticks, for instance, baskets, boxes, chairs and the famous *kangar*, etc. In the *kangar* (portable brazier), in particular, the indigenous art in willow-work appears to have reached its perfection.

Wood-Carving

The carpenters of Kashmir, too, are famous for their adroitness and excellence. Excellent specimens of their lattice-work (*tabdan tarashi*) are extent in the mosques of Shah-i-Hamadan, Bahauddin Sahib and Madin Sahib. The art caused much wonder to Mirza Haidar Dughlat (1543) and Dr. Bernier (1663). The carpenters of Kashmir also rendered themselves famous as builders of boats, *shikaras, parindas, takht-i-rawans, khatam bandi* (ornamented ceilings) and as wood-carvers, cabinet-makers, and builders of wooden bridges.

Papier-mache

Papier-mache is a term which embraces numerous manufactures in which paper pulp is employed, pressed and moulded into various shapes. Lacquer, gold, silver and bright

dyes are also used to give a glaring finish to the articles so made, for instance, pen-boxes, book-stands, picture-frames, soap-boxes and trays, etc. Papier-mache was also employed as a substitute for plaster in ornamented roofs. Originally the art was known as *kar-i-kalamdani,* because *kalamdans* or pen-cases, or *kar-i-munakash* or painted-ware were then its best specimens. The Kashmiris learnt the art from the Persian and Central-Asian immigrants.

Stone and Brick Work

According to Alexander Cunningham, the architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable monuments of India. The extant ruins of the Hindu temples are a proof of artistic excellence and taste of their builders. Mirza Haidar Dughlat considered Hindu temples of Kashmir wonderful pieces of art. He writes, '(they) are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so acurately one upon the other that there is absolutely no cement used...(and) so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints.' In equal terms he praises the stone-polishing art of Kashmir. Its extant specimens are the stones used in the pavilions of the Mughal gardens, particularly the Shalamar garden.

The stone-cutters of Kashmir chiselled excellent specimens, and dressed stones for pavements, floors, forts and walls. On the construction of the stone wall around the Hari Parbat hillock Akbar spent one crore and ten lakh rupees. Inside this wall Dara Shikoh built a residential house of dressed stones for Mullah Shah which cost him 60,000 rupees. From these two examples one can imagine the enormous amount of money that was spent on the dressing and polishing of stones used for the pavilions of the Mughal gardens in Kashmir. All this money and much more helped to expand and stimulate social, economic and cultural activities of the people of Kashmir.

Brick work too reached a state of perfection during this period. Kashmiris learnt the art of making pucca bricks and polishing them from Muslim immigrants from Samarqand, Bokhara and Persia. Bricks were used for all kinds of buildings.

The polished tiles lining the facade of the tomb of Madin Sahib and its entrance are excellently beautiful specimens. To quote Sir John Marshall, 'The tile-work in question is one of the most valuable antiquities which Kashmir possesses. There are only three monuments that I know of in India where such tiles can be found.'

Pottery and Smithy

Among some minor but, all the same, useful industries mention may be made of pottery and smithy. The Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, generally contented themselves until the coming of the Sikhs in 1819, with the use of earthen vessels which they made from fine Kashmir clay for purposes of cooking and as water containers. The Srinagar Museum has some excellent specimens of large earthen jars (locally called *mattis*), dug up at certain archaeological sites in the valley. They served as receptacles for grain and wine.

Iron and copper pits were found in Shahabad. But their output was insufficient for domestic consumption. Since iron was in greater demand, it was imported from Punch as well as far-flung China. The tools used for purposes of husbandry, carpentry and forestry were made of iron. The arrows used for purposes of fighting had iron tips. There is an extant quarter in Srinagar known as Kamangarpur where bows and arrows were manufactured, as its name implies. The Srinagar Museum has some excellent specimens of iron and steel swords, hatchets, pincers and hooks, etc. which were used as weapons of war in the past. The Russian teaurn, called 'samovar', is an excellent specimen of Kashmir smithy.

Trade and Commerce

In spite of tremendous difficulties of communication and transport, Kashmir remained linked with India through the south and with Tibet, Nepal, China, Central Asia and Kabul through the north and north-west, both culturally and commercially. Kashmiri merchants went 'almost everywhere, from Cashmeer to Teheran, and even to Meshed; they go through Lahore, Delhi, Bombay, Bushir, Shiraz; etc. without passing through Cabulistan, and for a good reason', wrote

Victor Jacquemont in 1831.

Before the establishment of the Muslim rule Kashmiris visited Allahabad (Prayaga Tirtha), Hardwar (Gangaji), Varanasi (Kasi), Lucknow (Ajodya) and Muttra (Brindaban), in fact, all important places in India for purposes of trade or pilgrimage. They went out with their merchandise and brought goods from distant and near places like Kabul, Yarkand and Samarqand on the one hand, and India, Ladakh, Baltistan, Tibet and China on the other.

Under normal conditions salt was imported from Gujrat and Rawalpindi (West Punjab) and sometimes from Ladakh and Tibet when communication with the Punjab remained suspended. From Ladakh and Tibet they imported shawl-wool; and tea, musk and China-ware were imported from Tibet, China and Central Asia. Furs, carpets, *namdas* (course woollen carpets) and horses were imported from Yarkand and Kashghar. Nawab Itiqad Khan, as governor of Kashmir (1622), imported betel leaves (*pan*) and fine rice from Burhanpur (Madhya Pradesh). Broad-cloth, wheat, medicines, sugar, mangoes, iron, copper, brass utensils, glass-ware, gold, silver and luxury goods were imported from India.

Until the establishment of the Mughal rule Kashmir remained to some extent a self-supporting country as far as necessaries of life were concerned, with the exception of salt which is not available here. Shawls, woollens, rag-paper, and papier-mache articles, zeera (cumin seed), dairy products, dry and fresh fruits, baskets, honey and forest herbs, etc. had a rich and brisk export trade after Kashmir became a Mughal province.

From Yarkand, Samarqand, Bokhara and Kashghar Muslim pilgrims came to Srinagar on their way to Mecca and Medina. They brought with them horses, carpets, *namdas,* silk, China tea and gold.

Kashmiri traders had established their own commercial entrepots in the countries where Kashmir goods had a demand. So had the Indian and foreign traders their business houses in Srinagar. Under Muslim rulers some Kashmiri traders and missionaries performed diplomatic duties. They acted as secret

agents in foreign countries especially in Afghanistan, Yarkand, China, Tibet and Nepal on behalf of Sikh and Dogra rulers. They carried diplomatic correspondence between the ruler of Tibet and Warren Hastings (1772-85). Pandit Lachmi Dhar acted as *vakil* of the Raja of Kumaun in 1795.

The exchange or sale of commodities was made by letters of credit which were strictly honoured by the parties concerned. With the increase in the export and import trade after 1587 the national income of Kashmir increased gradually and the standard of living began to improve commensurately.

Unfortunately, Mughal and Pathan rulers encouraged traffic in Kashmiri women to a vicious extent. They converted Kashmir into a regular market of the white slave trade. Every Mughal and Pathan noble selected wives or concubines from handsome Kashmiri girls. From Peshawar to Lucknow there were centres for their sale. In 1587 a Kashmiri damsel could be purchased for two hundred rupees.

Economic Factors

1. Rice

Rice is the staple food of the population. It has had paramount importance in their economic life. *Shali* (unhusked rice) remained from centuries the currency, while minted money was almost unknown or had only subsidiary importance. A *kharwar* of *shali* was the standard of weight. The state realised the revenue in *shali*. Public transactions were made in *shali*. The wealth of an individual was determined by the quantity of *shali* he possessed. The prosperity or advisery of the masses depended upon abundance or scarcity of *shali*. Throughout the middle ages every government was judged by one simple test, the price of *shali*.

Shali remained the nexus of trade till 1586. When Kashmir was conquered and annexed by Akbar the avenues of life were diversified. Silver and gold came pouring in; it gave a new impetus to economy and a new civilisation began to be assimilated. Soon *hundi* (letter-of-credit) system alos came into vogue and goods began to be despatched to and from distant

places on the authority of the *hundis.*

Unfortunately, we do not possess sufficient data to fix the *shali* currency in terms of cash (*dinar*) currency. The available stray references, however, suggest that the price of a kharwar of *shali,* during the prosperous period of the reign of Avantivarman (855-83), was 200 *dinars.* It rose to 1,050 *dinars* during the famine period in the same reign. Under the government of Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70), the price of *shali* in good years was 300 *dinars.* As a result of the famine of 1462 it rose to 1,500. In the reign of Muhammad Shah, due to the famine of 1534, the price shot up to 10,000 *dinars.* Qazi Ali (1587), after taking the prices current for several years, fixed the average price of a *kharwar* of *shali* at 29 *dams* or 2,900 *dinars.* In the reign of Shahjahan the price was fixed at 24 *dams* or 2,400 *dinars.* Under Pathan rulers the price was fixed at five rupees a *kharwar* in the time of Mirdad Khan (1786-88), and fifteen rupees in 1813 when famine was at its worst. In 1946 the government controlled price of *shali* was seven rupees or 28,000 *dinars,* according to Abul Fazl's 1587 estimate.

2. Salt

An essential article of life, salt has always remained very expensive in Kashmir, as it is not available locally and had to be imported from Ladakh, West Punjab and distant Bengal. It goes to the credit of the hardy and enterprising Kashmiri merchants to arrange regular and economic supply of salt from one source or the other. They took heavy risks, both physical and monetary, to secure regular supply of salt. During the eighteenth century they travelled as far as Bengal to fetch salt. Nawab Mir Qasim, writing to the British governor of Bengal, Henry Vansittart, in 1762, gives an eye-witness account of the troubles and tribulations suffered by Kashmiri salt merchants. He says that for many years it was customary for the Kashmiri merchants to advance money at Sundarbans, in Bengal, and provide Malangies to work the salt pans there. They paid the rents for the salt pans, and the duties on the salt amounted to some thirty thousand rupees. In 1762, unfortunately, the people of the factory (meaning the British or their agents)

dispossessed them and appropriated all their salt.

During the disorderly political conditions in the country (1480-85) when the passes to the south were closed, salt became so scarce that 1½ *palas* cost 25 *dinars*. That is to say, 32 seers of salt were sold for one rupee according to Abul Fazl's estimates. In 1946 the government controlled price of salt in Srinagar was only a rupee for five seers, while in 1947-48, owing to the aggression of Pakistani raiders, the local stocks of salt and tea were depleted to the extent that both these commodities became as precious as silver and gold.

Taking into consideration the above data, we can safely conclude : (1) the prices of necessaries under the independent sultans were much lower than in the Mughal and Pathan times. Living conditions during the earlier period were much cheaper than in the latter. (2) The monetary value of the Kashmiri *dinar* was insignificant except for purposes of calculation. The condition remained unchanged till 1819. To quote one concrete example, on 10 July 1682, two Kashmiri Pandit brothers, Pandit Lala and Pandit Srikanth, residents of Mohalla Diddamar, Srinagar, sold two manuscript volumes of the *Mahabharata* for 45,000 *dinars*. Apparently a very enormous figure, but when we convert the figure into rupees of Abul Fazl's estimates it comes to 11¼ rupees only. Nevertheless, the sellers of the manuscripts, according to the prevalent rate of *shali*, were able to fetch some 40 *kharwars* of *shali* for this money, which sufficed a family of four members for a period of eighteen months.

Cultural conditions

The Kashmiri culture, like the Indian culture, is the product of a variety of ideas, beliefs, customs, rites, institutions and religions. From the dawn of history Kashmir has been the meeting place of varied and conflicting cultures. All these forces and impulses played an important part in shaping the thought of the Kashmiris and in rendering the country culturally a beautiful mosaic.

1. Under Hindu Rulers

Before the advent of Islam the inhabitants of Kashmir were Nagar worshippers; subsequently they embraced Buddhism, Brahmanism and some followed Jainism also. For centuries Buddhists and Brahmans struggled for supremacy. Buddhism lost royal patronage and popular support by the beginning of the seventh century. According to Hiuen Tsiang the country was not given to the faith of the Buddha and the temples of the heretics (Brahmans) were the main thought of their kings. Loss of royal patronage gradually caused degradation to Buddhism both culturally and morally. Kashmir had married *Bhiksus* before elsewhere in India; in course of time they became morally so degraded that they became drunkards, gamblers, meat-eaters and debauchers. Subsequently, the Buddhist got absorbed into the Hindu society; thereafter Buddhism almost disappeared. According to the census of 1911, Buddhists formed a negligible number in the valley.

In the heyday of the Hindu rule Hindu *literati* produced works of a very high order in the various fields of knowledge—general science, philosophy, literature, poetry, drama, history and politics. Kashmir is proud of reputed savants like Abhinavagupta, Somadeva, Damodara Gupta, Bilhana, Ksemendra and Kalhana, who are only a few stars of the galaxy.

With the turn of the tenth century political chaos in the north-western region and the Punjab (modern Afghanistan and Pakistan), caused by a chain of Mongol and Turkish invasions, had serious repercussions on Kashmir also. Raja Harsha (1089-1101) is the epitome of the social, moral, intellectual and political degradation Kashmir had reached then. Hindu Kashmir suffered from a sort of palsy. Like insects the Hindus were grovelling in the dust of inertia and ignorance. And the responsibility was mainly of the Brahmans. The Brahman *gurus* in sheer vanity considered themselves privileged hierophants of Hinduism although they were no better than Buddhist *bhiksus*. They practised magic, sorcery and black-art and preached formalist, hypocritic religion. A degraded and immoral type of

tantric worship swayed the religious life. Serpent worship had been the prevailing religion in Kashmir from time immemorial. Abul Fazl found the whole of Kashmir 'regarded as holy ground by the Hindu sages; 45 shrines are dedicated to Mahadeva, 64 to Vishnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga. In seven hundred places there are graven images of snakes which they worship and regarding which wonderful legends are told.' Thus showy Hinduism, i.e., offering worship to 'three crore' *devtas* (gods) and *devis* (goddesses) each of which was associated with some shrine, temple-site, hill, cave, river, tree, in fact, any gross from of nature was regarded as true religion. What is worse, the astrologer guided all mundane activities of the population from birth till death, which destroyed individual initiative and drive. Society was torn to its core; morality had practically reached the nadir. People passed their time in idleness, social frolics, party wranglings; and social chaos and official corruption were the order of the day.

The society was divided into castes. The castes originated from 'irrational and unpredictable phenomenon of birth'. The caste system disintegrated and degenerated Hindu society to the extent that it succumbed easily before Muslim culture and politics.

There were two distinct classes of society, the middle class and the masses. Those belonging to the first group, although numerically small, remained a very dominant element in society.

To this group belonged the nobles, priests, landlords and soldiers. The soldiery consisted of the locally raised troops and foreign mercenaries. The local troops consisted of a band of cowards and empty braggarts who would disperse even at the faintest rumour of an attack by a resolute foe. Murder by a few resolute ruffians in the royal palace was usually followed by a general stampede of guards, troops, courtiers and ministers. They formed only a fraction of the total strength of the army. But the Rajput mercenaries from Jammu, Punch, Bhimbar and Rajauri, on the other hand, were a brave, hardy people. They formed the cream of the state forces.

The nobility wasted their wealth in owning estates, in

pulling down and erecting buildings and in purchasing horses. They were grossly selfish and undependable. They were notorious for disloyalty and faithlessness. The land lords and agriculturists were mainly Damaras and Lavanyas. They were a host of overweaning and turbulent people, ever ready to render government weak in order to seize power themselves and to spread disorder and chaos. They behaved like little tyrants, and acted as a heavy weight on the cultivators, official class and Brahman community.

The official class consisted mainly of Kayasthas. They held their offices direct from the ruler. They were exceedingly oppressive and grasping. Under a strong king they behaved like lions under the throne; under weak rulers, they acted as king-makers. They were mostly Brahmans. After their conversion to Islam they were designated as *karkuns.*

The Brahmans who did not take to government service were called *purohitas* (priests). Their other occupation was agriculture and trade. They were an influential community. Some of them were guardians of *tiraths* (shrines) and religious foundations which were centres of wealth. They were governed by their own *parisad* (corporation). Quite often they played a shameless role in the internal politics. Whenever they found their interests at stake, they usually resorted to hungerstrike and thereby coerced obedience of strong kings even. They were very arrogant although only superficially educated.

The masses were a multitude of ignorant and superstitious people. Those who were not agriculturists and did not pursue gainful occupations were a rabble of idlers and spectators. They usually lived in the towns, while a majority of them lived in Srinagar. They remained conservative, sentimental and prone to give undue weight to rumours.

The agriculturists formed the bulk of the population. They were God's good people. They toiled hard, but enjoyed least the fruits of their labour. They were exploited by others. Poverty, ignorance and superstition were glaring features of their life.

2. Under Independent Sultans (1320-1586)

The early batch of Muslim sultans and missionaries did not feel any necessity to establish Islam by force. There were reasons for that. To start with, many traits of Islamic culture had penetrated into the every-day life of the population, and had gradually prepared the ground for the peaceful establishment of the Muslim sovereignty. The earliest impact of Muslim culture appears to have started along with the two invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni (1015 & 1021). Ksemendra used Arabic and Persian words and phrases, e.g. *dabir, sultan, ganj, shah, silah* and *surang*, etc. as early as the eleventh century in his monumental work, the *Lokaprakasa*. King Harsha (1089-1101) introduced Muslim articles of dress and luxury. He recruited Muslims in his army. He manifested great fondness for certain aspects of Muslim culture, and took delight in desecrating Hindu temples. In his relations with his sisters, fathe's sisters and nieces, etc., he dishonoured outright Manu's *Dharma Sastra*.

More than all these distant influences, the great pillars of Islam—unity of God, equality between man and man, and man and woman, and rejection of idolatry—had seized the heart of the socially and culturally impoverished masses. And their greatest sympathiser, saint and saviour, Laleshwari, preached these pillars of Islam in the Brahmanic way, during the latter half of the fourteenth century. She was a great reformer of the Brahmanic religion, and the Kashmiri off-shoot of the contemporary Hindu reformation movement which swayed through India. She had herself gone through the book religion as taught by the theocratic *gurus*. She had herself performed penances, undergone physical mortifications, in fact, all the formalities prescribed by the book religion. But all this she found to be purposeless. Truth dawned upon her only from within. Thereafter, she revolted against sophisticated, traditional Brahmanism. She decried idolatry—worshipping stones, springs, rivers, trees, etc. On the other hand, she preached individual purity and sublimation, unity of God and brotherhood of man. She preached that by *yoga*, or self-discipline, and individual could raise himself from the lowest to the highest. She acquainted the people with the concept of Hindu religion and proclaimed

the message of universal brotherhood. She preached in the language of the masses, and she was heard. Her sayings became popular. They are extant.

Revolution and Reaction

Timur's invasion of India (1398), however, proved to be a calamity for Hindu Kashmir. It brought about a social and cultural revolution.

Timur never entered Kashmir nor invaded her. But his presence gave an opportunity to the Muslim missionaries and refugees from Central Asia and Persia who had entered Kashmir in order to escape from Timur's tyrannies as well as the devastating effects of the famine and drought which had ravaged their country. They behaved with the Kashmiris as Timur and Halaku Khan had behaved with them. They used Timur as the Trojan Horse to compel the desperately frightened boy Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) to submit to their schemes. Their influence on his weaker son, Ali Shah (1413-20), was through. He succumbed to their ruthless methods for upsetting everything that was ancient and Hindu. Hindu religion and Hindu culture received a devastating blow. Ancient Hindu monuments were destroyed, defaced or turned into mosques. Hindu literature was burnt, buried or sunk in the Dull lake. Hindu Kashmir experienced a cultural death. Then followed wholesale conversion of the Hindus.

But all this was on the surface. Fundamentally the effect was different. Coercion and forcible conversion gave birth to half-hearted and discontented converts. They differed very little from their ancestors. Outwardly they behaved like Muslims; internally they lived as Hindus.

Zain-ul-Abiden (1420-70) realised the disastrous effects of communal frenzy, when he found everywhere chaos and economic stagnation. He was realist, pragmatic. He realised that Kashmir could not flourish without the active cooperation of the Kashmiris, who were the real producers of wealth. He revived Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindu civilisation. He is the only king of Kashmir who continues to be remembered with affection and awe as

'Badshah', or the 'Great Sultan'. The tradition of his golden age still lingers among the masses.

Zain-ul-Abiden's reign was, therefore, a challenge to the communalist Saiyids. And once they were recalled and rehabilitated by his grandson. Hasan Shah (1572-84), the mischief recommenced. In spite of their alleged descent from the Prophet, they were regarded as foreigners, and foreigners have always been treated with contempt by the Kashmiris. The result was revolt which was sponsored by indigenous Kashmiri leaders belonging to the Raina, Dar, Magre and Thakkur communities. In the war that ensued between the Saiyids and Kashmiris in 1484 the Saiyids were utterly defeated and routed.

Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi (1484-1526)

Before long, however, the Kashmiris paid very dearly for their victory. Their visionless and grossly selfish leaders threw the country into chaos and confusion from 1484 to 1540. It was an era of gangsterism when kings were puppets and gods had slept. This period coincides with the movement of Shams-ud-din Iraqi.

Shams-ud-din Iraqi was a great patron of the Shias and the founder of the Nurbakhshiya sect in Kashmir. He came to Kashmir in 1484 and found the conditions suitable for the spread of his mission. We have already discussed how he identified himself with the Kashmiri ministers Musa Raina (1505-14) and Kachi chak (1514-26). He employed them as Saiyid Muhammad Hamadani had used the name and influence of Sultans Sikandar and Ali Shah, for the propagation of Islam. Their mad methods were identical. He established the Shiva and Nurbakhshiya creeds by sheer brute force. What is more, he caused a schism among Kashmiri Muslims by creating lasting antagonism between the Sunnis and Shias. Their mutual relations became a long, sad story of bitterness, jealousy and quarrel. The Shias were at their best during the rule of the Chaks (1500-86). Some Shia Mughal and Pathan governors also helped them to redeem their position. Being a small minority they continued to be hard hit both officially and socially.

The Shuddhi Movement

When in the early decades of the fifteenth century Zain-ul-Abiden encouraged converted Hindus to adjure Islam and to return to their ancestral faith, he introduced *Shuddhi* among the converted Hindus, although he himself remained a devout Musalman. With the example of Zain-ul-Abiden before him Pandit Kantha Bhat, a Brahman religious reformer and a contemporary of Shams-ud-din Iraqi, also made an attempt to reconvert the Hindus who had accepted Islam during the rule of Musa Raina and Kachi Chak. Before long, however, Kantha Bhat paid very dearly for his zeal. He and his followers were massacred, those who escaped were converted to Islam, and the movement came to a dead stop.

The causes responsible for the Brahman holocaust were both obvious and direct. Obviously, Kashmir was part of the general Muslim missionary movement of Asia during this period. Directly, it was caused by the fervid ideology of a missionary like Shams-ud-din Iraqi who would brook nothing to destroy Hinduism lock, stock and barrel. And he accomplished, for the time being, what he aimed at, but in a huff. He remained totally ignorant of the latent forces of reaction in the country. They were simmering, not dead. And he risked a serious setback to indigenous culture. He ignored the will of the people, their acquiescence and support although some leaders supported his movement. And as soon as he disappeared from the scene, the Sunnis of Kashmir who were the majority community recollected their forces and refused to accept what he had accomplished. They acted drastically towards the Shias who had helped him. They killed his sons and destroyed his mausoleum at Zadibal. These developments, no doubt gruesome and tragic, show once more the intrinsic, unshakable and undaunted spirit of communal amity and concord of the Kashmiris.

By and large, the Hindus accepted Islam simply as security against perpetual harassment. The only people who did not were some very strong-minded Brahmans. Their number appears to have been quite large even at the time of Akbar. Their great

quality was accommodation and adaptability. Jahangir states that Kashmiri Brahmans of his time could not be distinguished from Kashmiri Muslims although they studied Sanskrit and practised idolatry.

When all is said and done, it has to be admitted that Islam came to Kashmir as a great riddance. Gradually it restored the moral and social stamina of the people. They were regenerated by a new social order and a religion which is simple, intelligible and practical. Islam smashed the age-old divisive and disintegrating social forces. It stabilished, unified and integrated the fragmented society. The philosophy of Islam was, in the first instance, awakened in the mind of a few; they were the torch-bearers. Particularly, the role of the *Rishis* is remarkably unique.

Rishis

A very small minority to start with, the *Rishis* failed to offer opposition to the physical, political and cultural forces which attempted to crush them. But their adaptability and resilience of character helped them to preserve some elements of ancient spiritual being in the new set-up. Brahmanism was not entirely wiped out although it was rendered incapable of expansion. Some Brahmans who accepted Islam as an immunity against constant dread, danger and harassment made, during the period under review, a singular contribution to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, which is a marvel in history. It was the celebrated *Rishi* order founded by the most popular and beloved Kashmiri *Sufi*, Shaikh Nur-ud-din of Cherar-i-Shariff.

The *Rishis*, a community by themselves, wielded unbounded popularity and attachment. They were the Brahmans of Islam. To quote Abul Fazl, 'the most respectable class in this country is that of the *Rishis* who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, no beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally source of benefit to the people. They abstain themselves from flesh meat and do not marry. There are about 2,000 of this class.' According

to Mutamid Khan they numbered ten thousand.

To maintain the sanctity and traditions connected with the ancient Hindu temples, these apostles of communal amity and harmony (*itihad*) took possession of those ancient shrines which had escaped the hands of the iconoclasts. No wonder that we find many shrines today which are equally held in reverence by both Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir. A few of them are mentioned below.

1. Shrine of Kalisari

It was converted into the *khanqab* of Saiyid Ali Hamadani or the Shah-i-Hamadan mosque. To this day its custodians are exceptionally punctilious in cleaning and sweeping the floors, etc. of the spring situated within the *khanqab*. The Pandits, who were allotted a place outside the *khanqab* premises, continue to offer their worship to the goddess Kali to whom the spring was originally dedicated.

2. Temple of Pravaresvara

It was converted into the *ziarat* of Baha-ud-din. Inside the premises there lies a small beautifully polished black stone pavilion which appears to have originally been a temple.

3. Temple-Site of Bhimaswami-Ganesa

It is situated on the Hari Parbat hillock. It was converted into the *ziarat* of the great saint Makhdum Shaikh Hamza, popularly known as Makhdum Sahib. He was the founder of the Kubrawi sect in Kashmir.

4. Temple of Ranaswamin

It was converted into the *ziarat* of Pir Haji Muhammad Sahib.

5. Tomb of Zain-ul-Abiden's mother

This site was originally a Hindu temple.

6. Ziarat of Madin Sahib

Originally it was a Hindu temple.

7. Other Ziarats

The *ziarat* of Siddamol (Sidda Surya Kantha, *guru* of Laleshwari) at Pampur and that of Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi at Cherar-i-Sharif, and others dedicated to the great Sufi saints, Dastagir Sahib, Batamalu Sahib, Rishi Sahib, and the shrine of Narishari (in Narpirasthan), which are all situated in Srinagar, were held in great veneration equally by the Muslims and Brahmans. It must be emphasised, in particular, that on the occasion of the *urs* of Batamalu Sahib, Shaikh Nur-ud-din Rishi and Rishi Sahib (of Habba Kadal, Srinagar) their Musalman venerators totally abstained from flesh meat.

Conditions under the Mughal and Pathan Rulers

The annexation of Kashmir by Akbar in 1586 was the return of the golden age of Zain-ul-Abiden. Once more the Kashmiris enjoyed a period of toleration, prosperity and secular government after over a century. Once more Hindus and Muslims lived in perfect accord, amity and peace, under the benign rule of Akbar. It was to pay a tribute to their marvellous qualities of godiness, tolerance and amity that Abul Fazl is said to have inscribed the following famous lines on a temple which was built here by order of Akbar :

'Ilahi ba bar Khana ki me nigram juhai tu and
Wa ba bar Zuban ki me shinvam goyai tu;
Kufr wa Islam dar rahat puyan
Wahdahu la shirik la goyan.'

Translation

> 'God Almighty ! Wherever I go I find seekers after Thee, and whatever I hear is in praise of Thee only. Both idolaters and Muslims tread Thine path alone, all uttering "God in one and without partner".'

Strictly speaking, the religious attitude of the Kashmiris offers a paradox. Deeply spiritual, they were one of the most tolerant people in the world. They regarded faith in God as the very foundation of their being. At the same time, they continued to be one of the most superstitious people in the world. Their taboos had a stronger force than religious maxims.

They did not possess that strict tenderness for the fundamentals of Islam—*namaz, zakat, roza* and *haj*, which are the glaring characteristics to be met with among non-Mashmiri Muslims. The maulavis failed to exorcise them, and in sheer disgust Aurangzeb dubbed them *bepir* (vicious) and *be tamiz* (lacking discretion).

Not only in the valley but in the neighbouring hill-states also Hinduism and Islam continued to pursue unique principles of communal harmony and amity. The Muhammadanised Rajputs of the hill-states of Punch, Rajauri, Bhimbar and Jammu, remained Muslim in name only. An estimation of the extent of adaptability and fusion among the Hindus and Muslims of this region can be formed from the fact that as late as 1911, they retained not only their old Hindu caste names, as was the case among the Muslims in the valley, but some Hindu customs and practices also. They pierced their ears and wore gold ear-rings. They put on the same dress and observed the same endogamous, exogamous and hypergamous rules in regard to marriages. They married children at a tender age and deprecated widow remarriage. They made offerings to *devis* and *devatas* and retained Hindu rituals of marriage and death. The hereditary family *purohita* was paid his customary dues. In Rajauri when a Muslim died his widow was put into the grave along with him as a *sati*. They also practised female infanticide and gave to and took girls from the Hindus.

Jahangir prohibited this practice. He writes : 'they ally themselves with Hindus, and both give and take girls. Taking them is god, but giving them God forbid.' Shahjahan went much further. In India he ordered demolition of the newly built temples, and forbade Hindus to dress in the Muslim style, sell or drink wine openly or secretly, cremate the dead or burn *satis* near Muslim grave-yards, or purchase Muslim slaves. Kashmir also experienced the effects of these prohibitions. For instance, Shahjahan ordered that temples in Anantnag and other places should be demolished. In his time the ancient name of Anantnag was changed into Islamabad. The polished stones of these temples, Bernier tells us, were carried to the Shalamar and other gardens for the construction of the pavilions.

The foregoing is the story of the genesis of communal intolerance in Kashmir. It reached its zenith under the Pathan rulers (1753-1819), when Kashmiri Pandits, who happened to be the only Hindus left, were further reduced to almost negligible number. They were tortured and tormented by rulers like Faqir Ullah Kanth (1767-68) and Amir Khan Jawansher (1772-76). The cruellest of the Pathan rulers, Mir Hazar Khan (1793), imposed the *jizya* on them and debarred them from studying Persian in order to disqualify them for state services and places of profit in future. To render them politically immobile he lynched their leaders, then put them in sacks and drowned them in the Dal lake.

As a result of the progressive extirpation of Hindu religion and culture during this period there started the historic exodus of some Pandit families to the Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. Their children maintained their ancestral social and cultural traditions with admirable results. Some of them, for instance, Nehrus, Saprus, Kunzrus, Katjus, Bhans, Rainas, Kauls, Kaks, Dhars, Kitchlus, etc. rendered their names illustrious in all walks of life in India. Many Muslim families also migrated to India during the regime of the Pathans to escape their tyrannical rule, starvation and the rigours of famines. Some of them preserved excellent specimens of their talents as artisans, craftsmen, scholars and statesmen. History has preserved the names of illustrious Kashmiris like Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlu, Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal and so many others who settled in Lahore, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and even far off Bengal.

There is also bright side of the coin. During the administration of Akbar Kashmiri Pandits like Pandit Tota Ram acted as *peshkars* (revenue collectors), while the famous scholar Pandit Chandra Bhan acted as personal secretary to Prince Dara Shikoh. Some good and god-fearing Pathan rulers employed many Kashmiri Pandits as *peshkars, sahibkars,* and *dewans.* The author of the *Dabistan-al-Mazahab* mentions names of Kashmiri Pandits like Gyani Raina, Sheo Raina, Pandit Sudarshan, Pandit Ganju, Pandit Jagan Nath, Pandit Shankar Bhat, Pandit Aftab Bhat, Srikanth Bhat, Mahatab Bhat, Ganesh Bhat, Sudarshan Kaul, Gopal Kaul, etc. They were contemporaries of Shahjahan and

possessed great spiritual powers.

Social Conditions

Domestic Life

When we think of the domestic life of the people we are remained of their social life. A Kashmiri, whether Muslim or Hindu, a townsman or a villager, is at his best in his home life, with his wife and family. His home is the hub of his life. It is above the church and above the state. It is the pivot round which the whole social system moves.

Position of Women

Under Hindu rulers women were relegated to a subordinate position. They could not inherit nor claim the right to property. They enjoyed economic and social life with their husbands; as widows they simply ceased to exist. Islam came as a good riddance for them particularly. It refreshed their life. It raised their status and prestige. It granted them equality with men. Married women claimed their right to property. Life-long economic repercussions of widowhood, suicides and *satis* ceased for ever. Islam did not force *purdah* in Kashmir. Only women belonging to the Saiyid, Naqashbandi and maulavi families observed it. The rest of then worked as farmers, green-grocers, shop-keepers and load-carriers.

Some of them stood out as cultured members of the society—in the fields of religion, literature and fine arts. Their handsomeness and physical charms remained unsullied. Of the beautiful damsels of Kashmir Marco Polo and Sharaf-ud-din Yazdi had heard quite a lot. They remained objects of attraction and possession during the Mughal and Pathan times. While paying his compliments to their physical beauty, Bernier writes : 'Nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol* selects wives and concubines (from Kashmir) so that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols.' The rot started from the top and a regular traffic in Kashmiri women came into vogue since 1586. They began to be treated as mere chattel. Even the blind Shah Alam's seraglio in Delhi had in 1794 'Cashmerian beauties

who formed the principal ornaments of the palace'.

Education and Marriage

The attitude of mind towards education among the population was basically secular. Education of children received particular attention. Both boys and girls were acquainted from tender age with the basic principles and formalities of their religion by their parents. When they were entrusted to the care of the maulavi in the *maktab* or of the Pandit in the *pathshala*, the inauguration ceremony was done under picturesque rituals. While Muslim boys and girls were taught the *kalima* and the *namaz,* the Hindus were taught *sandhya* and *natinama*. Higher education too was imparted.

Both Hindus and Muslims favoured early marriage for boys and girls. Perhaps Akbar's marriage regulation, fixing the minimum age limit of 16 for boys and 14 for girls, was not honoured in Kashmir. On the whole, marriage of boys and girls was a family matter rather than choice of the couple. It was an imposition whose consequences often proved to be tragic. Laleshwari (14th century) and Habba Khatun (16th century) were married to idiots who were no match for their matchless talents and accomplishments. Their married life became disastrous.

The formalities observed for the consummation of marriage were common among the Hindus and Muslims. The Kashmiri Pandits also performed a sort of *nikka* (marriage contract) ceremony before the marriage was consummated. Some semblances of it are still in vogue, and they name this contract, *Lagana Chirika*.

Death and After

The death of a wife was an ordinary affair, but the death of a husband had disastrous consequences for a Hindu widow. She could not inherit nor independently adopt. She simply ceased to exist. Muslim widows generally remarried; but the widows of noble families did not. Divorce, though permitted among the Muslims, was rarely resorted to and then also in exceptional circumstances.

What may surprise many is that Kashmiri Pandits are perhaps the only Hindus in India who are cremated by the Muslims. These cremators have been pursuing the profession from remote times. The Hindus had to pay 'cremation tax' to the independent sultans. It did not exist under the Mughals and the Pathans.

the Muslims are buried by their family *gorkans*, locally known as *'mallas'*. They perform the *chaharum*, i.e. the fourth, unlike Indian Muslims who observed the *siyum*, or the third day ceremony after death.

Sati

The cruel rite of the *sati*, (burning of Hindu widows with their husbands) was present in Kashmir from remote times. For the first time it was abolished by Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413). His son, Ali Shah (1413-20), continued the prohibition. Zain-ul-Abiden revived it. The custom, however, continued long in the neighbouring hill-states. We come across no case of widow-burning among Hindus in the valley proper during the rule of the Mughals and Pathans. But Aurangzeb on his return from Kashmir (1663) having noticed some cases of the *sati* in the lower hill states forthwith prohibited the custom.

Village Life

Kashmiri village is beautiful in spite of itself. It is rich in its natural surroundings. With a clear, rumbling or quietly flowing stream, a grove of trees and a refreshing panorama, most of the villages in the valley are objects of great attraction. Village homes are mostly built of mud bricks set in wooden frames. They make the four walls which are covered with timber. The slanting roof thatched over with rice straw does not allow the snow to collect. Such huts have been the mansions of the peasantry who formed more than 90 per cent of the population. Generally they are two storeyed. The ground floor serves the purpose of a pen for sheep and cattle as well as a warm-room (*hamam*) for the family during the winter.

Looking at it form modern standard of life an average villager's worldly possession was almost valueless. A few earthen pots, a wooden pestle and mortar for husking *shali*, some

earthen jars for storing rice and pulses, a few mats, a creel to carry load, and a woollen blanket to cover the body day and night was all that belonged to a mud-hut villager. But even with these bare necessaries of life the Kashmiri villager was perhaps the most contented person. Kashmiris did not use cots or bed-steads. In fact, they do not need them. Yet their Punjabi neighbours hurled ridicule and sarcasm upon them. But their constant companion has been the famous portable brazier (*kangar*) which they cannot afford to part with during the winter. The use of *kangar* evoked fantastic notions among visitors to Kashmir which manifest sheer ignorance of local conditions.

On the whole, social life in the villages remained stereotyped and immobile. The villagers were given no opportunity to alter their ancestral occupation of tilling, cultivating and rearing cattle. They continued to be treated like primitive serfs like their ancestors. They had no say in the administration, local or central, and nobody bothered about them. Yet they remained a happy, contented lot whenever they were spared by their ubiquitous bogy—early snow-fall heavy rains in spring and autumn.

On the other hand, the makers and changers of society were a very small but very influential community of officials—maulavis, Pandits and zamindars—who lived in the towns and in Srinagar. Their outlook and interests remained wholly urban. They treated the rural population with disdain. The villager, who was the mainstay of national economy, was ridiculed as *gama bakkur*, meaning village bull.

10

Phenomena in Kashmir

There are many places and things in Kashmir which are peculiar in themselves and some of them quite beyond ordinary human comprehension. The orthodox Hindus, taking them as divine manifestations, worship them while others consider that they are merely nature's phenomena.

1. *Amarnath*—The celebrated cave of Amarnath situated in a long glacial gorge high among the eastern mountains is visited by thousands of Hindu pilgrims from Kashmir and different parts of India on the full Moon Day of the month of Sawan (July-August) every year. It contains a self-formed Lingam of ice (the emblem of Siva) which increases and decreases with the waxing and the waning of moon.

For this reason the cave is visited on a full moon day. It is sending out an irresistible call to the hundreds and thousands of pilgrims from the remotest corners of India who crawl up this height year after year. Some say that the Lingam is simply the stalactite, and stalagmite described fully in books on Geology. These are icicle like incrustations of lime, chalcedony, etc. which often cover the roofs of caverns and fissures which arise from the dropping water holding these rock matters in solution. Columns of these solid matter collect, rise and expand and in course of time become hard stone. They are found in

many countries of the world including England. But these things are entirely different from the substance of the Lingam in the Amarnath cave. This Lingam is not impregnated with any matter but it is composed of simply pure water turned into ice. Nor is it an ice spring as some say, for on Amavas day the ground on which it stands is found dry. there is of course gypsum in the cave but it does not form the ingredient of the ice Lingam. The water is thawing from the roof but it does not fall on the Lingam. This ice Lingam waxes and wanes with the moon stated above which has been observed by several reliable persons who have stayed at Panchtarni (6 miles this side of the cave) for a full month and have from there visited are cave daily. Had this Lingam been stalactite and stalagmite, many geologists and specially non-Hindus should have raised their derisive voice and they should have made this fact known to the world long long ago. On the contrary, this phenomenon is considered wonderful by not only Indian philosophers including men like Swami Vivekananda who says in his book that he was all ecstacy on seeing it but also by European scientists aware of the formation of rock matters in caves and fissures. In fact had his been the case in regard to Amarnath the cave should have been filled up by the sediments ages ago.

This pilgrimage is mentioned in Book 1,267 of the Raitarangini in the accounts of King Nara who reigned in Kashmir in 1048-1008 B.C. which proves that even before the time of Kalhana, the author of the book who lived in the 12th century of the Christian Era, it was annually visited by pilgrims.

2. *Tumula in Lar :* There is a spring at this village, the water of which changes colour every now and then. Sometimes it is pink, sometimes green and so on. The Hindus worship there. A large fair is held at this place on the 8th and 15th day of the bright fortnight specially of Jeth (May-June).

3. *Takar in Uttarmachipura :* There is a spring the water of which like the Tumula spring changes colour every now and then.

4. *Trisandhya or Sunderbrari :* This is the name of an

intermittent spring in the south of the Divalgam village in Brang. It remains dry all the year round except in the month of Baisakh-Jeth (April-May). At first the water flows out continuously for some days as from an ordinary spring and then it does so at intervals, that is to say, the spring becomes quite void of water and again the water re-appears and flows out. This intermittance occurs several times in twenty-four hours until in course of time the number of ebb and flow gradually dwindles down to three and then to nine. A Persian poet has written the following couplet describing this spring :

Turfa aini hast do Kashmir namish sand brar,
Amdu rafte ajab dard ba rox wa shab sah hal.

5. *Rudra Sandhya :* This is also a spring like Trisandhya, dry during the whole year but flowing with water continuously for some days and then getting void of it at intervals during the months of Baisakh and Jeth (April-May). It is six miles from Verinag towards the west.

6. *Wasuknag :* This is a very large spring, six miles further west from Rudra Sandhya. It remains quite dry for six months of winter but flowing with water (which forms a big stream irrigating large area) for six months of summer.

7. *Pawanasandhya :* There is a spring of this name situated five miles to the east of Verinag. It ebbs and flows continuously as though it breathes Pavana or air like a living creature; hence its name. A fair is held there on the Amavas day of Bahadun. A Persian poet describes it in the following couplet :

Chashmai digar ba Kashmir ast mamish pona sand,
Hast har dam wa raftash cbu anflas rajal.

8. *Sapta-Rishi :* There are seven springs close to one another at Vithavatur near Verinag, which like Vasuknag, remain dry for six months of winter and flowing with water during summer months.

9. *Halamatpura in Uttarmachhipura :* There are five springs near one another. A Lingam of stone is in one of these springs which is said to move by itself round making one more from one corner to the other in one month. Some people explain

this as below :

The bed of the spring is sandy and its level varies with the action of water-oozing which makes one corner higher and the other lower alternately, and thus the Lingam (which does not stand vertical but is lying in a horizontal position) in the bed of the spring rolls down from the higher to the lower corner under the law of gravitation.

10. *Dubjan in Shopian :* There is a spring called Tatadan, the water of which is warm. A similar spring exists at a place 68 miles from Anantnag across the Margan Pass.

11. *Brang :* There is a spring at the village Gagar-Tahunda (10 miles from Anantnag towards Verinag) above Larikpora which is called Konnag by the Mohammadans and Sita-Kund by the Hindus. Some of the fish therein are blind in one eye.

12. *Lar :* There is a lofty mountain called Haramukh in Lar. The popular notion is that a snake within sight of this mountain will not bite.

13. There is a cave temple called Dyaneshwar on a hill 12 miles to the east of Bandipura, above Sinthan village in the Arin Nulla, in which there are stone forms like the teats of cow on its ceiling from which water drops down below. It is reached through a narrow passage about a yard in diameter and two chains long. There is a self-formed Lingam in it.

14. There is a cave at Bamzu to the north of Mattan, the length of which none has yet been able to find. Another similar cave exists at Beru in which the famous ascetic and philosopher, Abhinava Gupta together with his 1,200 disciples, is said to have entered and to have not returned.

15. There is a place called Swambhu or Suyam, half-a-mile to the south-west of the village Nichiham, in Machhipura, where after a long period, say once in 30 years, the earth gets heated for a year or so when the Hindus go there on pilgrimage. Rice with water in pots buried to neck into the earth gets cooked by this heat and the Hindus offer cakes of rice, thus cooked, in the name of their deceased relations. A flame is also produced by pouring down ghee, sugar and camphor in

a hole dug into the earth about a foot deep. This is evidently a volcanic phenomenon.

16. There is a tiny little island in the midst of the Jhelum, at Prayag on the junction of the Sindh with the Jhelum, on which is a small Chinar which does not either grow taller or biggest though years have passed since when it has been there.

17. Wayyan village (Wular) : 11¾ miles to the southeast of Srinagar. There is a spring bathing in which has the effect of curing itch. There is also a similar spring at Anantnag, called Malknag and also at Sadar-Qutabal, 22 miles from Srinagar on the Bandipur road. Medical men say that they are sulphurated hydrogen springs.

18. There is a spring on the top of the Sarbal mountain in Kashmir which is called Tsurnag. The water of this gushes out with great force, making whirls like the potter's wheel.

Appendix

Jammu-and-Kashmir State has an area of 84,000 square miles. Western Pakistan adjoins it on the west, south and south-east except for a small part of the boundary which Kashmir shares with the Gurdaspur district of the East Punjab Province of the Indian Dominion. The approach from the Indian Dominion to Kashmir is across this part of the border.

For administrative purposes, the State is divided into three Provinces—the Frontier Province (districts of Ladakh and Gilgit), Kashmir Province (districts of Anantnag, Baramula and Muzaffarabad) and Jammu Province (districts of Mirpur, Reasi, Jammu, Udhampur and Kathua). Besides these, there is the Poonch Unit which is a jagir of the Maharaja.

The State was transferred in 1846 by the British to an ancestor of the present Maharaja in return for a sum of 7½ million rupees (Nanakshahi) on condition that he acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government and "in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve goats (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls". The treaty by which the transfer was effected has been referred to by political leaders as "the sale-deed of 1846" and the memory of this "deal" has inspired much bitter comment.

The population of the State according to the 1941 census is 4 millions of which 3.2 millions are Muslims. The Muslims are in a majority in every province of the State. Even in the Jammu Province where they have the smallest proportion, they constitute 60 per cent of the population. The Maharaja's family belongs to the Dogra clan of Hindu Rajputs who have on that account always enjoyed special privileges in the State.

Throughout the history of Dogra rule, the State has been notorious for its autocratically wayward methods of administration and its religious intolerance. Killing a cow is a cognizable offence punishable with seven years' rigorous imprisonment. There is a special tax on the slaughter of goats and sheep,

which are sacrificed by Muslims once a year as part of religious ritual. A Hindu on conversion to Islam forfeits all inherited property. Under such a medieval and intolerant mode of Government, Muslim places of worship and pilgrimage within the State are not likely to have been respected by the rulers. Many of the were usurped by the State and had to be restored to Muslims as a result of the enquiry into the affairs of Kashmir held by the Glancy Commission in 1931. The Arms Act in force in the State exempts Hindu Rajputs from obtaining licence for guns and swords. Schools and colleges are located so as to be easily accessible to the Hindu population. The Hindus man about 80 per cent of the services. Almost unlimited jagirs are granted to the Maharaja's kinsmen whose sway as unbridled landlords extends to over a hundred thousand acres of land on which the Muslim peasantry subsist as serfs. Taxtion is arbitrary and is collected by extortionist methods; and forced labour is common. The police has vast powers. Administration by and large is in the hands of Hindus who also dominate the court. The masses of Kashmir, largely Muslim, have for the best part of a century, lived in squalor, penury and terror. As a natural reaction, therefore, the rise of political consciousness in the country as a whole in the second quarter of the present century was reflected much more strongly and led to more serious and more frequent clashes between the people and the Maharaja's Government in this than in almost any other Indian State.

Organised political activity within the State had its beginnings in the twenties and was Muslim in origin. In the early thirties it crystallized itself into the Muslim Conference, an organisation whose leaders and workers from the backbone of the Resistance movement to-day. In 1938, during the regime of Gopalaswami Ayyengar (leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N.O. Security Council) who was the Maharaja's Prime Minister at the time, seven out of the twenty members of the working committee of the Muslim Conference with Shaikh Abdullah as their head, founded a separate organisation known as the National Conference. The National Conference as its name implies, claimed to be an organisation of non-Muslims as well as Muslims. As

this coincided with the avowed creed of the Indian National Congress, Shaikh Abdullah and his followers developed Congress leanings and his organisation became the favourite of the Congress leaders, who as a corollary to such an alignment, frowned upon the Muslim Conference. Shaikh Abdullah to-day is the Maharaja's nominee in the Kashmir Government and the hope of the Indian Government. With the forceful development of Muslim politics in India and the demand for Pakistan, the Muslim Conference, on the other hand, developed powerful sympathies for the Muslim League and its ideology. Most of its leaders to-day are either in prison or exile.

A study of the political upheavals in Kashmir since 1930 reveals the following facts : (a) Both the Muslim Conference and the National Conference, despite their mutual rivalries, were anti-Government throughout and increasingly pressed for the transfer of power from the Maharaja to the people; (b) In the repeated conflicts between the Maharaja and the people, the people's agitation took the usual forms—political meetings, conferences, memorials, public demonstrations and the defiance of authority—and the Maharaja's Government adopted ruthless measures to suppress or disperse the popular movements—by individual and wholesale arrest of political workers, ban on political meetings and processions, fines, floggings and shooting, confiscation of property and deportations; (c) Although the National Conference claimed to be a non-communal body, very few Hindus ever joined it or having joined, stayed in it for long. Since the Hindus are the ruling class in Kashmir and all popular movements tend to undermine their power, this was but natural. It is inherent in the situation, therefore, and inevitable that any major conflict within the State should, basically, take the form of Hindu *versus* Muslim. The only notable occasion when the law came down upon the Hindus was when about a hundred Kashmiri Pandits were arrested for opposing the recommendations of the Glancy Commission which sought to introduce a limited franchise in the State; (d) Though not enamoured of either organisation, the Maharaja's Government (and its advisers, who needless to say were practically always Hindus) when pressed to a choice leaned, for obvious reasons,

to the National Conference. Thus when it was considered expedient in 1944 to appoint a Muslim from amongst the members of the State Assembly as a Minister, the choice fell on a National Conference nominee, although the next election confirmed the strength and popularity of the Muslim Conference.

The approach of momentous constitutional changes in India quickened political activity in the State. In May 1946, Shaikh Abdullah launched the 'Quit Kashmir' movement. He was tried for treason and (in September 1946) sentenced to three years' imprisonment. In June 1946, the Muslim Conference met at Srinagar and passed the "Azad Kashmir" resolution demanding the establishment of a responsible Government and the summoning of a constituent assembly on the basis of adult franchise. In July 1946 a convention was called at Srinagar which passed the "Direct Action" resolution calling upon the Muslims of the State to organise and prepare for a struggle. The annual session of the Muslim Conference which was to be held in October 1946 was banned. The working committee decided to defy the ban whereupon its prominent members was imprisoned. Elections to the State Assmebly were held in January 1947. The Muslim Conference captured fifteen out of the twenty-one Muslim seats although its leaders were in jail. Widespread agitation against their continued imprisonment led to many clashes with the authorities who adopted drastic measures to suppress what was threatening to become a general rising. In July 1947, the General Council of the Muslim Conference declared itself in favour of accession to Pakistan. The "War Council" of the National Conference also met about the middle of August. Thirteen members attended, of whom eight voted for accession to Pakistan. A definite decision was however postponed pending consultation with Shaikh Abdullah who was then in jail. On the 15th August, "Pakistan Day" was celebrated throughout the State. Pakistan flags were hoisted and resolutions passed supporting the Muslim Conference stand on the accession issue.

There was also much political intrigue afoot. During 1946 and part of 1947, top-ranking Congress leaders including Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Sinha, Chaman Lal, Asaf Ali, Acharya

Kirpalani and Gandhi visited Kashmir and held consultations with the Maharaja or his Government. The RSS with its office at Jammu had been recruiting volunteers since 1942 and it was not long before the branches of this purposeful anti-Muslim organisation were opened at Mirpur, Kotli, Sambha, Udhampur and Kathua, i.e., at Hindu centres which were comparatively close to the India Union and could therefore maintain easy contact with it. Among its strong supporters in the State was Swami Sant Dev, the Maharaja's Guru, or spiritual guide, who is known among the students of palace intrigues as the Rasputin of the Court of Kashmir. Following upon the disturbances in Hazara in 1946 and Rawalpindi and Jhelum in 1947, a considerable number of Hindus and Sikhs had shifted to the State. The evacuees included about 2,000 trained members of the RSS. The Sikh evacuees organised themselves into bands known as the "Singh Naujawan Sabhas" ("Sikh Youth Leagues") at Muzaffarabad and Srinagar. From March 1947 onwards, there was further influx of R.S.S. members from the Punjab, the United Provinces and other parts of India and of armed gangs of Sikhs from the Punjab and the States of Patiala. Faridkot and Nabha. In July 1947, Basant Rao Agrekar, Provincial Organiser of the RSS visited Kashmir to inspect and advise his forces.

To return, however, to the struggle of the people of Kashmir against the oppressive rule of the Dogras. The beginning of the present phase of this struggle takes us as far back as June 1947, when the inhabitants of Poonch launched a No Tax campaign. "Great success" is claimed for it by the Kashmiris. But whether this claim is accurate or not, there is ample evidence to show that the campaign developed into a major revolt and, in the months that followed, drew the vengeance of the authorities in the fullest measure. For our first account of it, we turn to a Press Note of the Maharaja's Government itself, issued from Srinagar on Sept. 12th, which is reproduced here in full :

> "Early in August in Bagh Tehsil and northern part of Sudh Nutti Tehsil of Poonch Jagir, evilly disposed persons

launched a violent agitation against the administration of the jagir and in favour of civil disobedience and No Tax Campaign.

"The Wazir did all that was possible to persuade the agitators to see reason and to restrain from breaking law to no purpose. On August 24, large and highly excited mobs collected in the West of Bagh Tehsil and on the 25th, disregarding all efforts to persuade them to disperse, marched on to Bagh Town in the vicinity of which they reached the number of some 5,000 which swelled considerably during the next two days.

"These mobs were armed with fire-arms of various patterns—axes, spears and other weapons. As appeared later they were accompanied by gangs of ruffians from the west bank of the Jhelum River. The mobs demanded an entry into Bagh town which is mainly a non-Muslim town. Their entry into the town was refused. The mobs then encamped in the vicinity of the town.

"In the meantime on August 26, unaware that any trouble was brewing, one signal party of the State troops comprising one Indian Officer, three infantry sepoys armed with rifles, one unarmed transport driver, the latter being the only Muslim, and three mules had left Rawalkote for Bagh. When about three miles from Bagh, this small party encourtered a mob. As soon as the troops were off their guard, the mob rushed on them. Two of the party broke loose and escaped but the Indian Officer, two Hindu sepoys and a follower were seized.

"One Muslim follower managed to escape the next day and eventually reached Jhelum Valley Road where he was picked up by a patrol. The Indian officer miraculously escaped.

"On the same day as that of the attack a party of signallers sent to look for the lost party was heavily attacked by well armed gangsters from over the border

supported by mobs. Not knowing where to look for the lost party, the patrol fell back to Bagh with the loss of one Naik killed and two sepoys wounded.

"The next day—August 27—a mob supported by long range fire of their gangs from over the border attacked Bagh town from all sides. The deterrent fire of troops designed to keep the mob at a distance rather then inflict casualties prevented the attack from closing and the mob fell back foiled. There must have been casualties in the mobs but they could not have been heavy for patrols sent out after the failure of the attack found none.

"The attackers then invaded the town. A small garrison was sent out from Poonch town via Rawalkote to relieve Bagh. The Rawalkote column encountered opposition from well-armed gangs to gangsters supported by a few local hostiles, six miles east of the town.

"After relief of Bagh, columns of troops traversed the whole countryside breaking up four large armed and bellicose gatherings of "lashkars" and seizing all ferries over the river Jhelum. Since the smaller columns of troops have been moving in various areas breaking up small gatherings, some of which have fired on troops but dispersed rapidly as soon as troops moved towards them, firing by troops being necessary except on one occasion when no casualties were inflicted.

"The whole Jagir is now on the 10th of September pacified and steps to restore control to civil administration of the area are in progress."

Ignoring for the present the phrases inserted obviously to falsify the picture—phrases vague and evasive, such as "evilly-disposed persons", "ruffians from the west bank of the Jhelum", "gangs from over the border", "...must have been casualties in the mob but they could not have been heavy", "gangsters supported by a few local hostiles" etc. etc.—there is enough in the Press Note to indicate wide-spread trouble and

considerable activity by the State troops. Further light on this conflict is thrown by Mr. Richard Symonds of the Friends Unit writing in the *Statesman* (New Delhi) of 4th February 1948. After his contact with the Resistance Army he had gathered enough background to describe the origin and progress of the struggle in Poonch in the following words :

> "Poonch is a barren, rocky mountainous country, whose important export is military manpower. Sixty thousand Poonchis served in the Indian Army in World War II. They returned (they said) to find that during the war the Raja of Poonch, under whose mild, if unprogressive rule they had existed tolerably, had been dispossessed by a lawsuit : and that the Maharaja of Kashmir's direct rule had imposed all the tyrannous taxes of Kashmir and Jammu. There was a tax on every hearth and every window. Every cow, buffalo and sheep was taxed and even every wife. Finally the Zaildari tax was introduced to pay for the cost of taxation, and Dogra troops were billeted on the Poonchis to enforce collection.
>
> "As August 15 and the partition of India drew near, there were many meetings and demonstrations in Poonch in favour of Kashmir joining Pakistan. Martial law was introduced and meetings fired on. After one such incident on August 27 in Nila But, Abdul Qayyum, a young zamindar, started the revolt with a few friends. Substantial men told that they would never have joined such a rash enterprise but for the folly of the Dogras who burnt whole villages where only a single family was involved in the revolt. Rapidly most of the Muslim ex-Servicemen joined Qayyum and in six weeks the whole district except for Poonch city itself was in rebel hands."

Finally we quote from Shaikh Abdullah. (He was prematurely released from jail early in October after secret negotiations with the Maharaja. His appointment as the Maharaja's Minister was yet to come and at the time he was travelling to and for between Kashmir and Delhi while the two Governments were,

presumably, still making up their mind about him). The API reported him as follows under the dateline "New Delhi, Oct. 21" :

> "Shaikh Abdullah, leader of the National Conference of Kashmir speaking at an "At Home" given in his honour to-day touched upon the question of Kashmir's accession and said that so far as Pakistan was concerned they were very keen on her accession. For, due to he strategic position that the State held, if the State joined the Indian Dominion, he thought Pakistan would be completely encircled.
>
> "Explaining the difficulties with which the people were beset in making up their minds without responsible Government, Shaikh Abdullah said that the happenings in certain States such as Patiala, Bharatpur, Kapurthala and elsewhere had naturally caused apprehensions in the minds of the Muslim in Kashmir who formed the majority of the population. They were afraid that the State's accession to India portended danger to them. Similarly the Sikhs and Hindus of the State were apprehensive of Kashmir joining Pakistan.
>
> "The Kashmir leader said that the problem could only be solved by the grant of complete responsible Government including the nationalisation of the State Army which was now closed to the people of the Kashmir Valley.
>
> "Shaikh Abdullah said that the present troubles in Poonch, a feudatory of Kashmir, were because of the unwise policy adopted by the State. The people of Poonch who suffered under their local ruler and again under the Kashmir durbar who was the overlord of the Poonch ruler, had started a people's movement for the redress of their grievances. It was not communal.
>
> "The Kashmir State sent their troops and there was panic in Poonch. But most of the adult population of Poonch, he explained, were ex-Servicemen in the Indian Army who had close connections with the people in

> Jhelum and Rawalpindi. They evacuated their women and children, crossed the frontier and returned with arms supplied to them by willing people. The present position was the Kashmir State forces were forced to withdraw in certain areas. Shaikh Abdullah deplored the course of events and suggested the only remedy was to trust the people and make them responsible for the governance of the State."

There is no mention here, it will be noted, of "evilly-disposed persons" or of "gangsters from across the border supported by a few local hostiles". These accounts, one from a neutral and two from unfriendly sources, read together make it clear that misrule having tried the patience of the people of Poonch to the utmost, they had started a campaign of civil disobedience which was punished with the utmost severity. These oppressed people, large numbers of whom has been through the hell-fire of World War II, had grown desperate and determined not to take it lying down, had removed their women and children to places of safety and returned to their native villages to give fight to their oppressors.

To give some idea of what the inhabitants of Poonch had to put up with, it only remains for us to present a few close-ups of their sufferings from the numerous stories related by the refugees who sought shelter in Pakistan. Every close-up has the same main features : first the people were disarmed, then the arms were restored to the Hindus, after an interval the village was attacked by Dogra troops and armed bands of Hindus and Sikhs and the Muslims were driven out; and then the looting and the burning. Village after village met the same fate, and the stories of these peasant refugees oppress the reader with the monotony of the atrocity-pattern described by them. Let us pick a few villages at random and let a refugee from each tell the story :

Ali Sojar. "In the month of Har (June-July) the arms and ammunition of the Muslims were taken away by the State Police and Dogra soldiers. About 12 hours on the 15th of Bhadon (early

September) about 1,000 Dogra soldiers and 200 Hindus and Sikhs attacked our village firing with bren-guns and rifles.... Muslim houses were then searched and looted after which they were burnt. About 1,000 Muslims of our village went into hiding in the jungle, women were molested and cattle were shot dead. Two small boys, Mohammad Saidu and Lal Husain were murdered and their bodies were hung from trees."

Nar. "In the month of Sawan (July-August) all the arms and ammunition of the Muslim residents of our village were confiscated and later these were distributed among the non-Muslims. In the month of Bhadon (August-September) about 400 Dogras and Sikhs including Kartar Singh, Amar Singh, Devi Singh, Budh Singh, Matwala Singh and Kalyan Singh, attacked our village in the afternoon. The attackers opened fire with bren-guns. Ali Haider, Yaqub and Ali Akbar were killed. Later, all the Muslim houses were searched by the raiders, property looted and the houses set on fire."

Bagh. "In the month of Bhadon (August-September) the Police collected the arms and ammunition of the Muslims of our village and deposited them in the Police armoury. About a month later, 200 Dogra soldiers and about 1,000 Sikhs including Man Singh, Hira Singh, Uttam Singh, Ram Singh, Dayal Singh, Kala Singh, Gyan Singh, Shiv Ram, Hira Nand and others, attacked our village. The soldiers fired from their been-guns and rifles resulting in the death of Sher Ahmed, Shamsher Khan, Manda Khan, Ghulam Husain, Ghalib Khan, Sharf Din and Mst. Farman Bibi (a woman) and injuries to Ayub Khan. All the Muslim residents of the village numbering about 3,000 and including men, women and children

left their homes and went into hiding in the jungle. The raiders set fire to the houses. Four of my own houses were destroyed, property looted and food-grains set on fire."

Khas Bagh. "Towards the end of Bhadon (about mid-September), the Police accompanied by the Military, look over the arms and ammunition of the Muslims of our village. Later these were distributed among the local non-Muslims including Rup Chand, Awail Singh, Amar Singh, Nartar Singh, Dayal Singh, Surat Singh, Jia Lal, Jiwan Singh, Inder Singh, Jagat Singh, Raghbir Singh, etc. Three days after this, Hindus and Sikhs accompanied by about 300 Dogra soldiers raided our village, firing with rifles, revolvers, bren-guns, etc. Muslim houses were searched, looted and then set on fire. About 3,000 Muslims, men, women and children, went into hiding in the jungle. Sayed Latif Shah, Sohbat Khan, Mardan Shah, Alaf Shah, Imam Shah, Gohar Khan, Rehman Shah, Shahar Shah, and others were killed."

Sar Saddhan. "Month of Bhadon (August-September)...arms and ammunition taken over by the Police...100 Dogra soldiers and 2,000 Sikhs raided our village...bren-guns, rifles and swords...12 villagers killed...raiders set fire to the mosque and the local saint's tomb and then to the whole village...villagers fled into the jungle."

Beerot. "Month of Bhadon (August-September)...arms taken away...about 80 Hindu families living in the village, whose arms were first taken away along with the rest, but later returned...700 Dogra soldiers and 2,000 Hindus and Sikhs attacked the village.... Two to three thousand people, men, women and children fled into the jungle."

Jheri. "Month of September...arms taken away and later distributed to Sikhs and Hindus...250 Dogra soldiers and about 2,000 Hindus and Sikhs attacked our village with bren-guns, rifles and hand-grenades.... Houses were burnt...."

Sangola. "September...arms taken away...about 200 Dogra soldiers and 200 Hindus attacked our village...400 mules accompanied the raiders...about 12 villagers killed.... Houses searched and set on fire.... Loot taken away on mules.... When were molested...Mohammed Zahur, a boy was taken away by the raiders, but later jumped into the river and ran away and thus reached us safely."

Rawli. (After the usual story). "Similarly the villages of Bagh, Landra, Kahna Chodhri, Hullu, Siridan, Vehri, *Saunian, Makbrol, Phut Bhayan, Chhatar Nari, Bani Pansari, Narhar, Khamat, etc., were looted and burnt by the Dogras, Hindus and Sikhs."*

There are hundreds of such stories (large numbers of them on record) and were all of them to be arranged geographically and the gaps, if any, filled with imagination they would conjure up the picture of a gunpowder trail blazed across the vast countryside; village after village going up in smoke and flames; Dogra troops with rifles and bren-guns killing and plundering; men, women and children fleeing in terror into the heart of he jungle. And accompanying the Dogra soldiers everywhere, are Hindus and Sikhs,—civilians— who equipped with arms supplied or left with them by the State authorities, look a lively part in this sport. Shaikh Abdullah when speaking of the people's movement in Poonch said that "it was not communal." He could not have said, nor did he say, the same of those who were trying to put down the movement.

We close this sorry chapter with the text of a message sent by the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, to the Pakistan

Defence Minister. It is dated the 11th of October 1947 and reads as follows :

> "Many reports are being received by units of Pakistan Army from men returning from leave that attacks are being carried out on Muslim villages in Poonch by armed bands including troops. Many fires can be seen from the Murree Hills and there can be no doubt very serious trouble is occurring. The matter is important as Pakistan Army recruit large numbers from Poonch. If urgent action is not taken we may expect many deserters with arms from the Army and a consequent intensification of the trouble in Poonch. Would Hon'ble Defence Minister please consider making an immediate complaint to the Kashmir Government and give the incident every possible publicity in Pakistan so that troops known that Government is taking action."

A complaint was made to the Kashmir Government the next day. It had no effect.

Much the same fate befell a number of villages flanking the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad road in the Kashmir Valley, but we pass on from these episodes of the orgy to the grand finale which was enacted in the Jammu Province in October and November. The town of Jammu in this province is the Maharaja's winter capital and second in importance in the whole State, only to Srinagar, the summer capital. For an account in outline of the events in this part of the State, we give below a survey from the pan of the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot. Sialkot is in the West Punjab, close to the border of Kashmir. The shortest road from Jammu to Pakistan (18 miles) passes through Suchet Garh just inside the border and then crosses over to Sialkot which is 9 miles from Suchet Garh. Sialkot was, therefore, the first town in Pakistan to receive the shock of what transpired in Jammu and to feel its repercussions at their strongest. This is what the Deputy Commissioner has to say about them :

> "The nervousness among the Muslim population of the Jammu Province became apparent as far back as the end of September '47, when the more well-informed

among them apprehending trouble started to come to Sialkot in small unnoticeable batches every day. This crowd usually consisted of people from Jammu town who had relations in the Sialkot district. The usual practice with them was to have their women and children in Sialkot, and also in certain cases some valuables, while they themselves returned to Jammu to carry on their normal avocation. I set up a check post on the Jammu-Sialkot border and the figures collected indicated that in the week ending 10th October '47 roughly about 1933 Muslims came in and 752 went back. In other words in that week over a thousand people did not return to their homes in the Jammu Province. I went down the Suchet Garh road and questioned some of them to find out the cause of this migration which at that stage was not on a very large scale. The answer which I received was that they had an uncanny fear of trouble brewing and were taking this precautionary step. This tendency continued to gain strength and from about the middle of October onwards it became obvious that the suspicions of the Muslims in the Jammu Province were not unfounded and the trouble gave every indication of a well organised campaign to exterminate and drive away the Muslim population of the State. From about 20th October a very large number of people started pouring into Sialkot district in a miserable state and they all had the same story to relate. The local non-Muslim population had been distributed arms and with the assistance of small organised armed gangs of civilians, mostly outsiders, they had attacked village after village and had on all occasions the moral and even active support of the State Police and armed forces. They would burn a Muslim village and then move on to the next giving its population the option to quit or to meet the same fate. As the Muslims departed, their houses were burnt and looted and the unarmed helpless mob en route to Pakistan was attacked and even old men, women and

children were not spared. Abduction of young girls, like arson and loot, was a common feature of these raids and the devastation had the same pattern all over the Jammu Province. I have myself seen them come in their thousands clinging to miserable little piles of what they could save and every party contained victims of Dogra aggression. The victims included old women and young children and besides spear, chhavi and sword wounds some had even bullet injuries. In those days we had to send out army ambulance ears and even civilian transport to collect the injured from roads and villages all along the border and at one time we had over 500 injured from the Jammu Province in our hospitals. The local Civil Hospital could not accommodate them and we had not only to open an emergency hospital in a school building, but I was also obliged to request the Military Hospital to take over 100 such cases. This figure does not include the injured who were admitted in our hospitals and dispensaries on the border (e.g. in Shakargarh) and other victims who had merely minor injuries and were treated, dressed and allowed to go to their relations and friends in the district. Her Excellency Lady Mountbatten when she visited Sialkot on the 29th October 1947 was also shown round and saw for herself the victims of Dogra atrocities. Messrs. Alexander and Symonds of the Friends' Unit also visited the injured in our hospitals and had a talk with other State refugees in the Camps.

"The trouble in Jammu town proper was of a later date. Some information about it filtered through, but I found myself helpless and unable to do anything in the matter as both the telegraph and telephonic communications had been cut on the State side and the border was sealed against us. No one was allowed to go to Jammu and even European military officers, who had all along been on extremely friendly terms with the officers of the Jammu Brigade, were politely told not to attempt a visit to Jammu and when on my

suggestion Brigadier Colyer, Area Commander, Sialkot, approached Brigadier Rawat of the Jammu Brigade he was refused permission to send one of his European officers to Jammu to ascertain what was actually happening in the town. I had made this request following a communication from Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, who was Refugees Minister in the West Punjab Cabinet at that time. The Muslim residents of Jammu town remained in a state of siege for several days and were obliged in the interest of their safety to concentrate in one or two mohallas of the town. Jammu was visited by Sardar Vallabbhai Patel, India's Deputy Prime Minister, and Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister of India, on or about 4th November and on their visit, the local Muslim leaders approached the authorities including Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, the Prime Minister of the Kashmir State and were told that the State was not in a position to give protection to its Muslim citizens who were advised to migrate to Pakistan. The day following the visit of the Deputy Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, it was publicly announced in the town that the Muslims would be escorted to the Pakistan border at Suchet Garh in convoys and that for this purpose people should collect at Talab Khatikan. Accordingly the first convoy which consisted of about 40 to 60 lorries were loaded up, but instead of moving towards Suchet Garh, it took a turn towards Kathua amidst the protests of the refugees, who were told that the Military was responsible for evacuation and knew best at which point of the border they should drop the refugees. This convoy was held up a few miles from Samba at a place called Mahwa and here on the approach of some jeeps from the opposite direction containing military personnel, the refugees were searched and deprived of their valuables. The military and the civilians who had also collected there then started taking away young girls and indiscriminate killing is reported by eyewitnesses, who managed to escape in the scuffle

for the loot of property. A large number of this lot were done to death and this story was vertified by me from responsible persons who managed to escape, including Ch. Ghulam Mustafa, who is an M.L.A. of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The attack was made at about 6 p.m. and the darkness which soon followed helped the refugees to escape into Shakargarh and Narowal Tehsils of Sialkot, which adjoin the State border.

"On the 6th November another lot of refugees was evacuated in about the same number of lorries. They were taken towards Akhnur canal and at a distance of about 4 miles from the town the convoy of refugees was attacked again. This lot included the well-to-do people of the town and although the convoy is reported to have been about two thousand strong the number who actually managed to escape does not according to our reports exceed some 30 to 40 persons. This lot of refugees included the family of Ch. Hamid Ullah, the acting President of Muslim Conference and a brother of Ch. Ghulam Abbas who was one of the fortunates to escape and arrive in Sialkot in a pitiable condition when he related the above story. The news of this attack spread to the town because it was made in its proximity and some of the refugees had managed to escape to the Jammu town where they related their experiences. The result was that on the following day on the initiative of Milan Nasir-ud-Din the remaining refugees declined to leave and told the authorities that if they were determined to shoot them they might as well shoot them in the town. The news of the tragedy and the atrocities on the two previous convoys had in the meantime come down to us and accounts also appeared in the Press and the subsequent convoys from Jammu to Suchet Garh came practically unmolested except for the abuction of about half a dozen girls at the Suchet Garh Post.

"It is difficult to give accurately the number of Muslim refugees from the Jammu Province who came over to

Sialkot district. This is so because Government instructions originally did not permit us to recognise them as refugees and consequently those who came in were advised to put up with their relations and friends in the district and elsewhere in the Province. It was only at a later date that Government agreed to feed and shelter them, but this revision came at a time when the refugees had dispersed and only those who had nowhere to go and could not find any shelter in villages and had come to Sialkot, were accommodated in refugee camps. It is not, therefore, possible to give their exact number, but it has been estimated to be not less than 80,000. The Camp at present (January 1948) has some 7,000 only while the well-to-do refugees who did not wish to go into camps and had been allotted houses in the town are now estimated at about 13,000 on the basis of the ration cards which were issued only about a week ago. This decision to give them free rations was taken because they had exhausted their own resources and were no longer in a position to provide for themselves and in consultation with Sir. W. Grigson it was decided to issue them free rations. This number, however, does not include those who have still some means and resources to provide themselves or who had secured some temporary service or jobs in the town and were, therefore, not considered eligible for free rations. The total number of Muslim refugees in he town should, therefore, be in excess of the figures mentioned above. The rest of the refugees have found shelter with their friends and relations in the rural areas or have occupied the border villages which had been evacuated by non-Muslims. They are to be found all along the border in an area which is about 100 miles long and some of them have been maintaining themselves by crossing the border into their home villages and bringing what little they could, sometimes under fire, from the standing crops which they had left behind within a depth of about 5 miles

> on the Jammu border. A census of the total Muslim refugees from the Jammu Province is being carried out and on its completion it will be possible to give their exact number. The figures quoted above can only be taken as a rough estimate. The refugees have mostly come from Jammu, Ranbir Singhpura, Akhnur and Samba tahsils of the Jammu district and Kathua and Jasmirgarh tehsils of the Kathua district.
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> "The figure for the total number killed in the Jammu Province is even more difficult to give, but from all accounts it is obvious that the killing has been done on a very big scale. The exact fate of the Muslim population in the interior is still unknown and it is only from the border areas that the Muslims have managed to escape into the Pakistan territory. They too have lost heavily and if the killing in the interior areas has been on the scale as is made out by the refugees, the figures of the total killed in the Jammu Province must be very large indeed."

The massacres in the Jammu Province were characterised by their thoroughness, achieved by dint of the elaborate preparations that had gone before. In July 1947, large numbers of troops arrived in Mirpur and started imparting military training to RSS men and to the Hindus and Sikhs who had infilterated into the Province. Firing practice was carried on in the ravines near Mirpur and could be heard every day by the people in the town. The villages in the vicinity were alarmed but when they expressed their fears to the District Magistrate, they were told that the RSS and the Singh Naujawan Sabhas were religious bodies and could not be interfered with. Later the non-Muslims of the villages Ali Beg, Jattan, Pindi Sabbarwal, Samwal, among others, shifted to Mirpur town, the better to take part in the killings that followed. "During the years 1946 and 1947", says a retired Muslim officer of the Indian Army and the native of a village near Bhimbar, "I observed that Hindu youths of the State were being steadily organised and trained on military lines under the names of RSS. In all important towns in the district, RSS branches were opened and recruitment and training

were carried out with enthusiasm. From April onwards, detachments of Dogra troops were detailed in our area, and from time to time reinforcements were received. The headquarters of their units were placed in Mirpur, Bhimbar, Ali Beg Chechian, Naushera, Saraja and Kotli. I also observed that stronger military units were installed in predominantly Muslim areas than in the Hindu majority tracts. In the Ali Beg gurdwara where a strong military detachment was stationed, a large number of non-Muslim refugees were accommodated and trained on military lines, and the gurdwara was used as an arsenal. The Hindu youths of our area were trained in handling firearms in this gurdwara." A jagirdar of Bharak (Reasi district) has placed it on record that "in the beginning of last summer (1947), one, Shastri, an organiser of RSSS came over to our area from somewhere near Delhi. He started organising RSSS members. Behari Lal of Kotla, and Thakur Zail Singh, Safaidposh of Ghajoor, actively supported him. Shastri made his headquarters at Reasi. Military training (lathi fighting, the use of the sword and handling of firearms) used to be imparted to the members. As I was a Zaildar, I submitted a secret report about their activities to the Tahsildar of Reasi, who instead of taking any action against them, summoned and snubbed me." One Mohammed Sadiq, a head constable, was posted to the police station at Jasmergarh in Kathua district in September 1947. He noticed that Hindus and Sikh evacuees infiltrating into the State from Tahsil Shakargarh, were carrying firearms without licences. "I recovered," he states, "some swords, spears and axes from some of the non-Muslim evacuees and reported the recoveries to my immediate officers. This action of mine was resented by Hira Singh (S.D.M. Kathua), Balwant Singh (ASP o Kathua) and Amar Nath Pargal, Tahsildar of Jasmergarh. I was verbally warned by the ASP not to interfere with the arms in the possession of non-Muslim evacuees. I received a written warning from the Tahsildar as well. Prem Nath Dogra, President of the RSS used to pay frequent visits to the branch of the Sangh in the company of State military and civil officials. On the 27th September, two truck-loads of armed troops reached Jasmergarh. They had spare arms and ammunition with them.

There were 57 country-made guns in the armoury of the police station which were handed over to an army captain under the orders of the S.D.M., Kathua district. The captain was accompanied by Prem Nath Dogra, President of the RSS. The above-mentioned arms after cleaning were distributed to the members of the RSSS". Of many such stories, the following, again typical of many,—deserves to be quoted at some length as it illustrates both the positive and the negative aspects of the preparation (the arming of Hindus and the disarming of Muslims), the elimination of Muslims from the services and combined operations by the police, the military and the RSSS :

> "I was employed as a constable of Police in Jammu, my constabulary No. being 279. I was attached to Nawan Shahar Police Station from where I was transferred to the lines. In the lines I remained for about 2 months and then I was posted as orderly to the recently appointed S.S.P., Mian Abdur Rashid. However, I used to take my hurried meals at my house which was near by. One day my father told me that the Sangh activities in Qila Rao were increasing and directed me to inform the Superintendent, Police. One Lajpat Rai, ex-M.L.A. was working as president of the Sangh party and Akha Ram Brahmin was working as a helper. These persons were first called by Assistant Superintendent, Police, Amar Nath Malhotra, who took them to the Governor, Chet Ram Chopra. The Governor according to information, gave this Sangh money to manufacture arms and make other preparations. The money was given to those who possessed arms like guns, rifles and kirpans, etc. and in return all their arms were deposited in the State stores. Similarly arms were collected from other villages also. Lajpat Rai wrote for 6-7 Sangh volunteers from every village who gathered in Qila Rao in large numbers and all of them were issued such collected arms. These Sangh workers used to do parade and learn the use of weapons daily.
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> "About a fortnight before the Id festival, certain Muslim houses were seen ablaze on the Samba side. The

Muslims thus rendered homeless, assembled in thousands in a jungle known as Punj-Paryan with their belongings. Seeing this, Lajpat Rai collected all the arms Sangh workers and with the help of the Dogra military, made an attack on this concentration of the Muslims and caused great havoc. Their property was looted and men and women were killed and abducted Out of a concentration of 10,000 souls hardly 100/150 escaped and rushed to Qila Rao where they were killed by the Dogra military and simultaneously an attack was made on our village. I was then in my house and at once rushed into the nearby bajra field. I saw my old father done to death, my house set fire after being looted. When night fell, I reached the S.S.P's bungalow by making my passage through the jungle, and to him I related the facts. Next morning Raja Sohbat Ali, S.I. Police came to see the S.S.P. Hardly two minutes had passed when a hue and cry was heard from nearby. The S.S.P. listening to this sent Raja Sahib to look into the matter who obeyed. But the Raja was confronted by the R.S.S. Sangh and the military soldiers. He was done to death by a soldier who fired seven shots at him and the Sangh people inflicted kirpan wounds.

"Next day Milan Abdur Rashid attended the office and came back to his bungalow by 4 p.m. He was taking his tea when a military truck of Dogra soldiers along with a jeep reached his bungalow. I informed the S.P. about the arrival of the party. He called them in. The military officers exchanged words in English and the S.S.P. was arrested and taken to Satwari and put in a house with proper guard around it. We spent the night at the S.S.P.'s bungalow where only the old father of the S.S.P. was present. The same day the Muslim Police was disarmed. Next morning a police lorry with a full reserve reached the S.S.P.'s bungalow at about 8 a.m. My Government .303 rifle was taken away by them there and then and the bungalow of

> S.S.P. was thoroughly searched and the Government property as well as the personal belongings of the S.S.P. were loaded in lorries and taken away. I was ordered to report in the District Police Lines. After making my report I came back to Jammu city to see my family members. No sooner had I reached there than firing from the armed Sikhs and the Dogra forces was resorted to. This firing continued for about three days. Id passed in this very harassment without any offering of the prayer."

Side by side with such semi-official collection and distribution on arms, there were vigorous attempts at recruitment for the regular army. For this purpose, the help of all the "loyal" subjects of the State including the Muslims was sought, but needless to say the Muslims were not really trusted and the activities of the Hindu recruiting officers were carefully concealed from them.

Just before the large-scale massacres in the Province got under way, the Maharaja himself toured about the villages with truck-loads of arms and ammunition following him, and personally held consultations with the local officials, distributed arms and in some cases fired the first shot. He was seen on this mission in Akhnoor, Bhimbar and Jammu tahsil and later in the Sambha, Kathua and Hiranagar tahsil. A refugee from Dhok (Akhnoor tehsil) thus describes his visitation :

> "At about 9 in the morning, I saw the Maharaja in a jeep driving through Rakh Dhok and heading for Mot Maira. I and other Muslims heaved a sigh of relief that the arrival of the head of the State would improve matters. A large number of State troops in plain clothes armed with every kind of modern weapons had already reached Kot Maira. Besides them, a huge number of Sikhs, Dogras and other Hindus had been collected in and about Deva Batala armed with swords, hatchets and guns. They were about 5,000 strong including the servicemen who were equipped with rifles. Some breach-loading guns and muzzle-loaders were also to be seen.

> When the Maharaja reached Kot Maira, the soldiers took up positions ready for action. It was about the hour of ten in the morning. The Muslims who had flocked behind the Maharaja's jeep were empty-handed, as they were not allowed to carry even sticks. All eyes were focussed on the Maharaja who suddenly fired a shot at the Muslims and waved his hand whereupon the State troops fired upon the Muslims who took to their heels. Most of them fell to the bullets. The soldiers ransacked one village after the other. The horde at Deva Batala followed in their wake carrying away young women and completing the task of destruction. The Maharaja had driven away immediately after firing the signal."

He was seen with 4 truck loads of arms at Khana Chak (Jammu district), fired the first shot at the Jammu refugee camp on 'Id day, gave orders to kill at Palahanwala, and again at Chhamb (Tahsil Bhimbar), distributed arms to the RSSS at Bhimbar, watched the slaughter of Muslims from his car at Naryana (Mirpur), and generally set an example of fanaticism and extreme sadism to his officers, to his troops and to assassins from outside the State who had so thoroughly rehearsed their parts and spilt so much Muslim blood, in many parts of the Punjab.

The attacks on the villages began about the middle of October. In the Reasi district the rural population fled terror-stricken to the town of Reasi where on November 4th a gun was installed by the State troops opposite Kashmiri Mohalla. Sikh soldiers took up positions on top of Prem Nath Autar Nath's house and machine gun and artillery fire commenced in the afternoon. Two prominent Muslims who had gone to see Thakur Gowardhan Singh, the Collector, were shot dead by him in the court. Notorious criminals were released from jail to participate in the attacks. Heavy casualties were inflicted in the general massacre that ensued and only the young women were spared. Those girls who could not walk were thrown into the river Chenab and the rest were taken to Bhaberwali

Rakh. At least, 4,000 Muslims were killed in Reasi town alone. The number of dead in the surrounding villages is not known.

Kathua was visited by the Maharaja on 20th October, along with Mehr Chand Mahajan, the Prime Minister. Interviews were given to Hindus and were refused to Muslims who were looking for protection. After his tour, anti-Muslim feelings rose to a high pitch, particularly in Hiranagar and Kathua tahsils. Attacks on an extensive scale were made on Muslim villages by armed mobs assisted by Dogra troops. At first the Muslim were refused permission to evacuate. On October 22, 6,000 of them assembled at village Moola Talab. Rs. 7,000 were taken from them as cost of safe escort to Pakistan. The convoy was attacked twice on the way. There were very few survivors.

In Mirpur district, the Maharaja paid a visit on October 20th. He was accompanied by Dogra troops. The Maharaja ordered fire, whereupon armed mobs indulged in ruthless slaughter. Dogra troops and other lawless elements spread out into the district, specially in Tahsil Bhimbar, Manawar, Mirpur and Koti, and massacred the Muslim population.

Terror-stricken people in their thousands left their villages helter-skelter and collected for safety at central points (mis-named 'camps' for there were no arrangements for food or water) or formed convoys and fled towards Pakistan. This however did not avail them much. A convoy of 20,000 from Kathua was attacked by Dogra troops, RSSS gangs, INA personnel and armed civilian mobs before the very eyes of the Maharaja on October 20th. Thousands were put to the sword and killed by rifle fire. Refugees who had assembled at Naryana near Dev Batala were attacked by armed hordes and when a Muslim approached the Maharaja he fell a victim to the royal bullet. The 12,000 refugees collected at the Jammu aerodrome early in November were machine-gunned. Four thousand died and another 2,000 were made the target of four hand-grenades which were thrown at them when they were asleep. Refugee camps at Dagiana and Balbiana were attacked, the guard itself joining. On October 17, the Muslim population of Ranbir Singh Pura tahsil—men, women and children—ran for safety to the

Government Electric Power House at Miran Sahib. "At the camp", says a refugee "we were given no water, no rations, nor were we allowed to go anywhere. The camp was surrounded on all sides by the military who used to come into the campe at night and forcibly take away young women for adultery, which they committed behind nearby trees and bushes." Mehr Chand Mahajan, the Dewan of the State, arrived on the scene accompanied by Bharat Bhusan, the local Tahsildar and an active member of the RSS. The Dewan assured the people, numbering over 25,000 of their safety but no sooner had he left them than armed mobs and Dogra troops fell on them. Only about 10,000 escaped. On October 19, a convoy of 30,000 Muslims who were marching on foot were halted near the Jammu-Tawi Station and were machine-gunned by Dogra troops. There are details in the refugees' accounts that sometimes bring out the horror and calculated brutality of the attacks quite unintentionally : "Indian military jeeps surrounded us and lit up our convoy from all sides with the headlights of their cars. Two hundred girls were abducted...."

No part, however, of this horrible tale is so shameful as the story of Jammu. What happened in this town, the Maharaja's capital, so beggars description that no pen can improve on the story as related by the eye-witnesses themselves. We content ourselves with two of these : so revealing in themselves that no introductory remarks are necessary. Here is the first account:

> "On the 15th of October 1947 I was coming to Sialkot but was detained at Suchetgarh by the officials of the Customs Department and the State Military. They said that I could not cross the border without the permission of the Governor. I had no alternative but to return home. I was actually pushed back by the soldiers and the Custom Department's peons. On the 17th of October in the whole countryside around the Jammu city the RSS parties and the military started a systematic looting, burning, kidnapping and slaughtering campaign. The whole thing started so suddenly and simultaneously in every part of the countryside that one could not help thinking everything had been carefully worked out

before making a start. Very few people could escape to Jammu city from the countryside. They were killed either in their villages or on their way to Jammu city. Young women were kidnapped but the older ones were done away with. Most of the refugees were wounded, absolutely penniless and in rags. The city Muslims rendered all help they could, but they too had become panic-stricken as the murderers closed in on them after clearing the countryside. The next step of the marauders was to exterminate about twenty-five thousand 'beldars' (road builders and labourers, etc.) near the Railway Station Jammu city, by rifle and machine-gun fire. The next for slaughter were the labourers in the Miran Sahib. Rosin and Turpentine Factory about seven miles from Jammu. The loss of Muslim life there was no less than nearly nine thousand persons. A lull followed but for only two days and we began to think that the marauders had called a halt to their murdering and plundering. Two days later, the Muslim houses situated in predominantly Hindu mohallas of Jammu city came in for attack. Only a few could reach safety. The rest were killed. Then they turned their attention to Jogi Darwaza, Mohalla Darugaran and Jalaka mohalla. At first the State military started firing on the houses, shattering windows and doors and then effected entry in the houses and began robbing the inmates and forcibly dragging away the girls. The slightest resistence or reluctance to obey their orders was punished by a bullet or a bayonet through the body of the persons. The frightened lot of Muslims began to stampede out of their homes and flee to Mohalla Dalpatian, Pir Mitha and Bazar Qasaban. In short all the surviving Muslims gathered in these three mohallas. This happened before the Id-ul-zuha festival which fell on the 25th of October.

"On the night preceding the Id, these three localities were subjected to an attack. These mohallas are surrounded by Hindu population who possess the tallest

houses in the town. All these houses were veritable fortresses fully equipped with long range rifles, modern automatic weapons, hand-grenades and incendiaries. The low lying Muslim houses in the centre provided easy enough targets and in view of the topography the Muslims were encircled by the enemy without any way of escape. The day of Id, and the following night and day, resounded with terrible firing and there was not a minute's respite. On Tuesday i.e., the day following the Id, a car fitted with a loudspeaker broadcast that peace had been restored in the city, that the Muslims should return to their homes and that no disturbance was likely to occur thenceforth. The firing ceased except for an occasional short, but the terrified survivors did not return to their homes. The same night Mohalla Maștgarh, another Muslim Mohalla, was set on fire. The Muslims who had gone to extinguish the fire, were shot at. On the day of Id, we had been told by a Gurkha Jamadar whom I can identify at sight, that if we flew the State flags from our house-tops we would be safe. Everybody did so, but to our grief we came to know later that this was a ruse to single out Muslim houses. No Hindu house had any flag on it. After the evening of the 26th a comparative calm followed. A Muslim deputation waited on the Prime Minister, Mr. Mahajan, and requested him to arrange for the safe evacuation of the surviving Muslims to the Pakistan territory. He gave the deputation to understand that he was prepared to detail the military for the evacuation of Muslims but could not take the responsibility for their safety. I was also a member of the deputation which included Captain Mian Nasir-ud-Din (now under arrest) a retired official and four others whose names I don't remember. We returned to our homes undecided. Some of the leading Muslims including the said Captain conveyed as the message that the State Government were doubtful of our loyalty and feared a recrudescence of trouble at our hands. Therefore, in order to be sure

of our loyalty and goodwill the authorities wanted us to deposit our weapons if any, with the police. All licensed weapons belonging to Muslims had long ago been confiscated. The Muslims could not even go about with hockey sticks. The students going for play were made to hand over their sticks on pain of arrest while the Hindus could go about carrying swords and even guns. Under these circumstances, we could not have dared to keep any weapons and we therefore invited the authorities to search our houses.

"About four days after Id, Captain Nasir-ud-Din was sent for at the Prime Minister's residence, where he was told to convey to the Muslims that they should be ready with one bedding and trunk each to depart at short notice. The Muslims had put a request through the Captain for an interview with Shaikh Abdullah or with His Highness or any responsible person of the Pakistan Government, but it was not acceded to. On the other hand a threat was given that non-compliance of the eviction order would absolve the State of any responsibility for our safety. The Captain told this to us later in the night and the next morning at about 8 a.m., a lorry with a loud-speaker broadcast the order to Muslims to gather at the Police Lines at 9 a.m. It was Wednesday the 5th of November. Accordingly we, i.e., the Muslims, began to collect at the Police Lines where everybody's person and luggage were searched. Even some of the women were not spared. Every valuable article, like ornaments, cash, watches, pens, bicycles and radio sets, was taken into possession. This search was conducted jointly by the military and the Police. Next we were ordered to shift to the ground where about 50 lorries were parked. About 35 lorries were loaded beyond capacity and started at about 3 p.m. I do not know where these lorries were driven to, because I did not board any and stayed back. About 10,000 people remained behind in that ground and had to wait without food and water for the next convoy. On

Thursday, the fate of the preceding day's convoy being unknown, we were reluctant to board the next convoy which comprised 25 vehicles. I did not board any vehicle in this convoy. These lorries left by about 11 a.m. (Thursday) and their destination too was not known. On the night between Thursday and Friday while I was asleep in the same ground I was awakened by the impact of a man on my body. I jumped up and to my surprise saw a stark naked person. He asked after my uncle Sh. Mohd. Amin, a worker of the Muslim Conference, and informed us that the lorries which had left on Thursday were taken towards the Kathua side and halted on the Ranber canal bridge about two miles from Jammu Cantonment. The refugees therein were being slaughtered and women dragged away. On Friday morning some more lorries came and people got into them but a leading Muslim citizen named Ghulam Pehalwan asked everybody to get down. A deputation headed by Captain Nasir-ud-Din waited on Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh, a representative of the Indian Union. He told the deputation that the Muslims would have to vacate the State somehow or other. The deputation's protest had the effect that instead of the State military, the military of the Indian Union was detailed for the escort of vehicles. No convoy left Jammu on Friday. On Saturday at about 4 p.m. a convoy of six lorries left Jammu and returned at about 7 p.m. On Sunday the 7th of November I too left with a convoy of 11 lorries at about 8 a.m. We were put down at Suchetgarh, other convoys also followed and it is said, in safety.

"A Muslim locality called Mohalla Ustad was still intact when we left but I do not know of its fate so far."

And the second :

"Owing to frequent attacks by Sangh people on our houses in Mohalla Mastgarh, I along with my family members had shifted to the house of Shaikh Jan Mohd.,

in Mohalla Jiwan Shah. Many Muslim families from mixed mohallas or from isolated places had done the same. Muslims had concentrated in the adjoining Muslim mohallas Talab Khatikan, Jewan Shah and Bazar Qasaban. These mohallas were gradually encircled all around by military posts and morchas of the RSSS. The RSSS had in recent days been fully armed and reinforced by members from outside the State. Many unfamiliar faces specially Sikhs of tall stature and dark complexion were seen collaborating with them. They were said to be from Eastern Punjab and Sikh States. The circle of those morchas was steadily being narrowed every day. It had now transformed our mohallas practically into a camp. On the west we could not go beyond Urdu bazar and on the eastern and southern sides our limits of excursions were Residency and Wazarat roads. Conditions prevailing in this—so to say—'camp' were deplorable Electric and water supply were both most irregular and insufficient and so were the rations. There were no sanitary arrangements. Sweepers and sanitary staff were not allowed by the military to enter the area. We were cleaning latrines and drains ourselves. There were about 250 wounded persons mostly from villages. These wounded villagers who had succeeded in reaching the city related heart-rending accounts of the general and wholesale massacre of the Muslim population of their villages—how their kith and kin had been murdered brutally, their houses set on fire and at places whole families annihilated. I along with Dr. Rehmat Ullah and a few compounders used to dress these unfortunate persons, at the risk of our own lives because shooting and sniping was at times very violent. We possessed very little dressing material but we were doing our best with certain improvised articles of dressing and chemicals. The firing from morchas increased day by day. We were completely cut off from Muslims in Mohalla Ustad and Mohalla Jowlakha. At times the firing became so intense that it was impossible to walk

about in the lanes or to get up on the roofs of our houses. Many persons were wounded or succumbed to the bullets coming in from all directions. We received news of the slaughter of about 300 persons (mostly Muslim refugees from villages), who had taken refuge in Mohalla Darugaran. On the next day we learnt of the massacre of about 150 persons in the house of Babu Abdul Hamid, Overseer. Only one person named Ibrahim Gujjar was able to reach us in a severely wounded condition out of the unfortunate 150 in the house. He had three sword cuts on his neck and two over his back. He managed to escape when dead bodies from the house were being removed in military trucks. A few days later, the circle was further tightened and the morchas were now nearer. About 40 persons were slaughtered in Jewan Shah Tomb. The Muslims had now been practically cornered in a few houses with the house of Sh. Jan Mohammed as the centre. There was great panic. Innumerable persons at the outer magazines of the camp had already been butchered. The end of all besieged looked near. Just at this time an order by the District Magistrate was announced according to which all firing was to cease. Muslims were accused of possessing a large quantity of arms and ammunition. They were directed to deposit all arms and ammunition with the Government before 10 o'clock next day. In the announcement it was further promised that those who wanted to leave the State would be given safe passage.

"A few days after this, on 5th November 1947, Wednesday when the general atmosphere appeared somewhat calm, we were asked to vacate our houses and gather in the Police Lines before 9 a.m. This was announced from the loudspeakers of a Police van. Accordingly, we reached the place with whatever little belongings we could carry, leaving everything else in our houses. In the grounds adjoining the Police Lines we lay with our kith and kin. Here a thorough search

was conducted by the Police and the Military. Even a pair of small scissors (dressing) which I had in my hand-case was confiscated. At about 12, lorries began to reach the camp. These included some military trucks too. In all 39 lorries and each carrying about 70/80 persons left the camp at about 2 p.m. Each lorry had a military man as escort. The convoy carried away about 3,000 persons. Two of my younger brothers and my elder son with four suitcases and two beddings succeeded in climbing on the roofs of the trucks. Suchetgarh is about 18 miles from Jammu : we expected the trucks to be back by 4 or at the most by 5 p.m., but none came back that day. We made enquiries from the Police, the Military and other persons but were given vague and various explanations. Doubt lurked in our mind. We could not make contact with persons outside the camp. The Indian Military were strict. They were all around us. In the camp, we had nothing to eat. There was no water supply. We passed the night without food and water. Next day *i.e.* on 6th November, Thursday, at about 8 a.m. trucks appeared but as we came to know afterwards these were not the same as had constituted the convoy the day before. I along with my family members, 22 in all, succeeded in getting into three different trucks. The trucks were 26 in all. This day individual lorries carried no separate escort but there was a jeep carrying Dogra Military men in the rear and a lorry full of Indian Military men wearing red caps, and with the mark 'Rajput' on their shoulders. When the convoy left the city we noticed people armed with swords, axes and spears on both sides of the road. From Tawi bridge many gangs of these armed persons could be seen in the sandy bed on both sides of the river. These gangs were heading in a southerly direction. When we reached Satwari Cantonment, instead of driving straight towards Suchetgarh, our lorries were turned towards the left on a kacha road along the canal bank, in the direction of

Bishua. The armed gangs, now much increased in number, could be seen hastening all around us. After going for some distance on this road, the lorries were halted. The military men in the jeep went ahead and came back after some time. We were much perturbed to find that the direct route to our destination had been abandoned. We made enquiries from the military men and were told that the road near Biloul Nallah was not in a fit condition and that we would be taken to Miran Sahab through Pandalian. According to another military man there was danger of an attack near Miran Sahab so we were being taken by a safer route. We tried to come out of the lorries but the military men objected to it and threatened to fire if we attempted to come down from the lorries. When the convoy was thus halted we saw two lorries full of RSS people going on the Samba road on our left. As we came to know afterwards, the convoy was halted because the number of attackers was not sufficient to attack the convoy and the Sangh people were now being sent in lorries to the places fixed for attack. After some time, the convoy started. As we proceeded on the road, the number of gangs increased. Many were hiding behind bushes and long grass and cactus plants. After going up for a mile or so all the 26 trucks were halted on either side of a bridge on the left side of which was the canal and on the right a steep slope. There was a military truck in front of the convoy and a jeep carrying Dogra military men at the tail end. Soon after this, the military men came out of their vehicles and took up positions. One Indian military man came up to the bridge and began to fire with a bren-gun. As I noticed the fire was in the air and was a signal to the gangs to start the attack, because soon after the firing, they started on the lorries and nobody out of the attackers was seen falling. The attack started from the rear and soon spread all over the convoy. Attackers climbed up the lorries and surrounded them completely. Swords,

axes and spears were freely used. Men, women and children were hacked to pieces. Shrieks of young women and girls who were being forcibly dragged by the gangsters could be heard from almost all the lorries. The attackers were striking most violently and mercilessly. Small children were lifted by one arm and cut into pieces. Wounded and dead children were being thrown into the canal. Some with spears were attacking the lorries from the sides through windows and doors. The lorry which I was occupying was the first in the row. The attack started on the last lorry and spread forward. Muslims who tried to flee were shot at by the military. Soon our own lorry was surrounded on all sides by the attackers—mostly Sikhs—probably not belonging to the State. My two sisters were snatched away from us. My aunts who tried to hold them back were given spear thrusts and done to death. My two uncles and my daughter aged about 8 years were killed on the spot. One of my sisters who was pregnant received a sword cut on her abdomen and lay by the side of the lorry. I received five or six spear thrusts on my left shoulder and back. While I was still in the lorry and when I was trying to come out of the lorry and projected my head out of the back door of the lorry I received an axe cut on my head. This made me unconscious for sometime. I fell face downward on the road just behind the lorry. When I came round, I saw the road and the canal bank full of dead and wouned men, women and children not less than one thousand in number. Shrieks of young women could still be hear far and near. My wife and young son and the wife of my elder brother were also wounded but were alive. Twelve members of my family in that lorry were seen lying dead by our sides among many other dead bodies. The injury on my head which had made me unconscious saved my life. I was taken to be dead. During this unconscious state I was searched by the gangs. My purse and every thing in my pockets, even

my stethoscope, was removed. Even after coming round, I lay in the same position on the road. I saw military men, Dogras as well as Indian military men, looting the lorries and firing at the Muslims who tried to hide themselves in the canal or in the grass and bushes or tried to run away from the place. This continued for a pretty long time. Near the evening, when the whole business was practically over, the military men became apparently sympathetic and asked the people who were wounded or hiding near about to come up into the lorries. I along with the six out of the total of 22 members of our family somehow climbed the lorries—one of my uncles and one sister (pregnant) who were wounded and were still alive but could not be got into the lorries, had to be abandoned on the road to die. After the wounded and the remaining persons had entered the lorries, we were carried to the Cantonment and Civil Hospitals (twice to each institution) but excepting myself and the remaining members of my family who were taken into the hospital by the M.S., all others were taken away (1 afterwards learnt) to the Dagiana camp, where for days they were neither fed nor dressed. Many, specially children, succumbed. In the hospital I learnt that except those in the camps, every one knew that the convoys were to be attacked and not a single soul was to be spared...and that the RSS people with the imported Sikhs and military men in plain clothes were being sent to the places selected for attacks since 5 a.m., in jeeps and military trucks. The gangs who attacked the convoy on 6th November (Thursday) were composed of RSS people, Achuts, Sikhs of tall stature and dark complexion. These Sikhs apparently did not belong to the State. They were armed with spears, swords and axes, a few with guns."

The convoys were attacked on the 5th and 6th November. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, India and Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Minister,

> India, visited Jammu on the 4th, on which date the offer of safe escort to Pakistan was announced to the beleaguered Muslims of Jammu through loudspeakers. At that time no "desperadoes from the tribal territory" had appeared on the horizon of the Province of Jammu and the Indian Army had been in Kashmir for a week, sent there by the Indian Government "to help your forces" (so the Maharaja was told) "and to protect the lives, property and honour of your people."

Broadcasting on the 4th of November, 1947, the Premier of Pakistan said :

> "The stress has deliberately been shifted to the so-called raiders as if the people of Kashmir themselves had suddenly wiped off their minds the memory of the century-old oppression and had over-night become enamoured of their oppressors. To present the rebellion of an enslaved people to the world as an invasion from outside simply because some outsiders have shown active sympathy with it, is a dishonest re-writing of history.... Let us, therefore, not be misled by the laboured picture so elaborately drawn, of the "gallant" India army saving the beautiful and of Kashmir and its people from invading hordes. It is not invading hordes, but the patriots of Kashmir that the India Army is shooting and bombing. It is not Kashmir but a tottering despot that the India Government and their camp followers are trying to save."

These words aptly summarise the facts that have been given in the preceding pages in some detail. We have seen the conflict in Poonch for it is—the rebellion of an oppressed people, who bear a soldierly reputation abroad but are treated in their own native land as serfs and slaves, groaning under the burden of exorbitant taxes, their youth despoiled, their women dishonoured and their villages burnt, at last making a bid for freedom at a time when freedom is everywhere in the air. In the rest of Kashmir and particularly in Jammu, there is no rising on this scale, although there is considerable unrest

which rises to a crescendo when the sub-continent is divided into two and the fear of being sold to the Dominion of India by a Hindu ruler and his power-seeking advisers grips the mind of the people. And yet it is here that the Maharaja let loose all the horrors that his mind could conceive.

The truth of the matter seems to be that faced with a situation which his mind could not fully comprehend, the Maharaja trembled and vascillated. At this juncture, the example of his brother princes in East Punjab and of the Sikh brains-trust seem to have suggested to him the daring, yet simple way out. The mass killings of Muslims that took place in the States of Kapurthala, Patiala, Faridkot, Jind and Nabha, whereby majorities were not only turned into minorities but were completely annihilated and driven out within a few weeks, seem at some dark moment to have caught his imagination. This alone can explain the sudden burst of energy with which he set about murdering innocent men and women by the thousand and chasing entire populations out of his State with fire and sword. Once his mind began to move in this direction, there were many willing helpers close at hand to speed him on his way. The INA, the RSS and bands of militant fanatical Sikhs had already entrenched themselves within the State and had been equipped with instruments of death and destruction. Indian politicians had been assiduously paving the way for a number of years. When the tactical moment arrived, the India Government simply pointed to the dotted line where he should sign and he signed.

To quote again from the broadcast of the Pakistan Premier: "The accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud, perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly ruler with the aggressive help of the India Government. The release of Shaikh Abdullah who had been convicted of high treason and the continued imprisonment of Muslim Conference leaders who had been convicted of more technical offences is a part of the conspiracy. When the history of this tragic episode comes to be written, it will reveal the treachery of many self-styled patriots and lovers of justice."

Extract from the Premier of Pakistan's Broadcast

Dated 4th November, 1947

"The world knows how we have consistently and repeatedly tried to reach a better understanding with the Kashmir Government. The Kashmir Government have ignored or rejected all these approaches. On the 2nd October I suggested to the Prime Minister of Kashmir that all questions outstanding between the two States including that of supplies under the stand-still agreement and mutual accusations of border raids should be discussed by representatives of the two Governments. The Prime Minister of Kashmir replied that at the moment he was too busy to discuss these matters. Nevertheless we sent a representative to Srinagar to discuss these matters with the State. The Prime Minister, however, refused to hold discussions with him and he had to returm. On 15th October the Prime Minister of Kashmir in a telegram to me treatened that unless Pakistan agreed to an impartial inquiry he would be compelled to ask for outside assistance to withstand the unfriendly act of the Pakistan people on his border. I at once accepted the proposal for an impartial inquiry and asked the Prime Minister of Kashmir to nominate a representative for this purpose. The Government of Kashmir have since made no further reference to this matter. On 20th October the Quaid-i-Azam in reply to a telegram from the Kashmir Government called attention to the repeated attempts of Pakistan to improve its relations with Kashmir and asked for the Prime Minister of Kashmir to come to Karachi and talk things over. No reply was sent to this request. The Quaid-i-Azam also pointed out that the threat to call in outside help amounted almost to an ultimatum and showed that the real aim of the Kashmir Government's policy was to seek on opportunity to joint the Indian Union by means of a *coup d'etat.*

The refusal of Kashmir Government to send a representative to discuss things and to nominate a representative for an impartial enquiry and their failure to reply to the Quaid-i-Azam's invitation to the Prime Minister to come to Karachi, their delibrate causing of disturbances in their State by employing

their troops to attack Muslims, the fact that by 9 a.m., on the morning of the day on which Kashmir's accession was accepted Indian airborne troops had landed in Srinagar clearly show the existence of a plan for accession against the will of the people, possible only by occupation of the country by Indian troops.

Even though all sorts of accusations were made against Pakistan by the Kashmir Government (and it was to redress these alleged wrongs that the India Government claims to have sent Military aid to the Kashmir Government), yet at no stage did the India Dominion ask the Pakistan Government about these accusations and allegations or try to find a solution of this problem by joint consultation. It was only after India had accepted Kashmir's accession and sent forces into Kashmir that the Pakistan Government was informed of the action.

After the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the India Government, the Quaid-i-Azam proposed that an immediate conference should be held in Lahore. It was to be attended by the Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister. This invitation was accepted and the conference was to be held on 29th October. At the last minute the conference was postponed as Pandit Nehru fell ill. It was arranged then that the conference should be held on the last of November and attended by the two Governors-General and the two Prime Ministers. This conference also did not take place because on the morning of 1st November, again at the last minute, we were informed that Pandit Nehru was not well enough to come to Lahore. In this way the idea of the conference receded into the background so far as the India Dominion is concerned. If the India Government really wanted to discuss this most vital and urgent matter, surely the Deputy Prime Minister could have come in place of Pandit Nehru. On the 1st November Lord Mountbatten came to Lahore alone to attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council and took the opportunity to see the Quaid-i-Azam. At this meeting certain suggestions were made to Lord Mountbatten, but no further communication has been received by me or the Quaid-i-Azam from the India Government. Instead, Pandit Nehru has chosen to hurl acros the world, reckless accusations against

the Pakistan Government, regardless of true facts. His broadcast was arranged, after Lord Mountbatten's return to Delhi, and what the validity of his accusations is, I have already told you. That is where the matter stands to-day. The issues are for you and the world to judge.

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